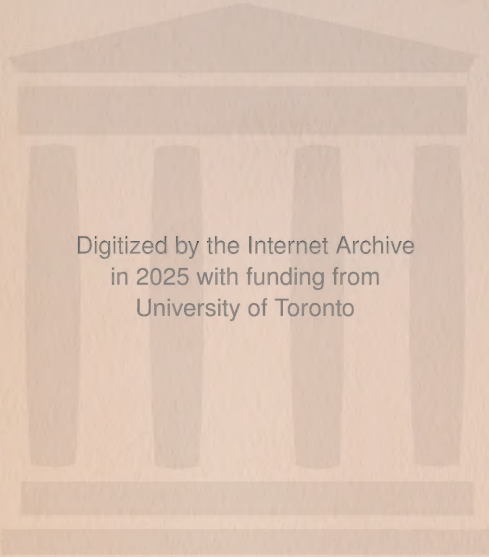




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1911

1911

MEMBER DIRECTORY 1911

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE
MEMBERS DURING THE
YEAR 1937-38

Thirty-fifth Year of Issue



GOD SAVE THE KING

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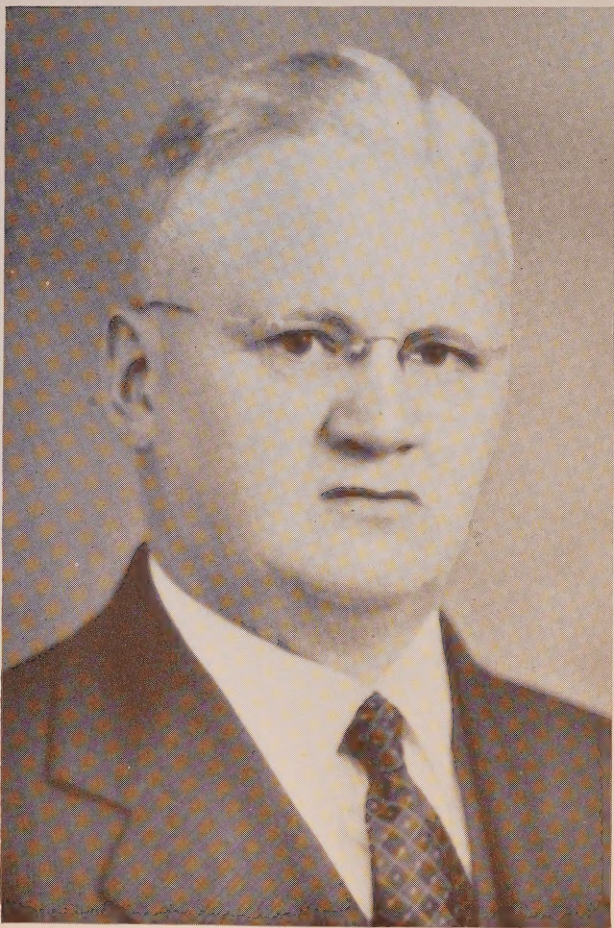


R. M. HARCOURT, ESQ.
PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1937-38

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H. F. POWELL, ESQ.
HONORARY SECRETARY-TREASURER

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YEAR 1937-38

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AGRICULTURAL CO-ORDINATION WITHIN THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY ARTHUR G. STREET, Esquire

SPECIAL LUNCHEON MEETING

Monday, June 7th, 1937

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: We are greatly honoured in having as our Guest-speaker Mr. Arthur Street, well known to you all as either a famous author or a famous farmer. I am going to ask a great personal friend of his, the Honourable Duncan Marshall if he will say a word by way of introduction.

HONOURABLE DUNCAN MARSHALL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been seldom my privilege to have more pleasure in introducing a public speaker than I have to day. A half dozen years ago I was charmed by the pages of "Farmer's Glory" and I enquired who the author was. Since that time I have read with interest and with profit a dozen books written by Arthur Street, a Wiltshire farmer who says he learned something of agriculture through his experience as a farm hand in the Province of Manitoba, beginning some twenty-six years ago. When I visited him on his farm last summer and made his personal acquaintance I resolved that I would try, if possible, to bring him over to this country in order that many of the farmers and business men in the Dominion of Canada might hear the voice of a practical farmer in England who was fond enough of this country to be its champion upon more than one occasion.

We are indebted today to the Massey-Harris Company, through Mr. Russell, to the Imperial Oil Company, through Mr. Smith, and to Canada Packers, through Mr. Stanley

MacLean, for having the privilege in several of the Provinces of Canada of hearing addresses by Mr. Street.

As a farm hand in Manitoba, Mr. Street was able to hold his job for three consecutive years, which, I think, is as good a reputation as he needs to have as a worker. He later became tenant of the farm upon which he was born in Wiltshire, England and after the War, with many of the other farmers, suffered reverses and he undertook to make these up by going into the dairy business. For five consecutive years he was out at work at 4.30 a.m., and drove his own waggon, delivering milk at the back door early in the morning at the houses of Salisbury and frequently going in at the front door late in the evening to attend dinner, thereby establishing the democracy and the dignity of British agriculture. No man has done more to uphold the dignity of farming than he has by his pen and his voice over the last five or six years and, because Canadian agriculture is so closely connected with British agriculture and because Britain is now and shall continue to be for many years largely the market for Canadian farm produce, I thought that we could become better acquainted and it is important that we should be better acquainted with our fellow farmers in Great Britain by having one of them come to us in this way. As I said in the beginning, I have very great pleasure and delight in introducing to you a working farmer, an author—he says, by chance, but—his book, “Farmer’s Glory,” is the agricultural classic of Great Britain, if not of the world, and if you have not delighted in his tales of the farm and you know anything about the operation upon the land, then you should read the stories written by a man who has perhaps greater love and understanding of the language of the land in his heart than any person else I have had the privilege of meeting in many years. Mr. Arthur G. Street—farmer and author.

(Applause.)

MR. ARTHUR G. STREET: Mr Chairman, Mr. Marshall, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a little difficult to talk to you after the sort of introduction that Mr. Marshall seems

to be able to put forward on any opportunity. You see, I am a stranger amongst you. I am also that curious thing, a freak and cross-bred. My pedigree is "By Poverty out of Farm." Not, I think, the worst of pedigree. When I tell you that I am a freak I know it because I am never in my own country treated fairly. Up in London they say, "O, yes, that is Street. Writes books. Got a farm in Wiltshire. A bit queer." Down in Wiltshire they say, "O, yes, that is Street. Farms the farm his father had before him. Writes books. A bit queer." Never treated fairly. But it seems that up to date anyway, since I have come over here, you are doing your best to treat me fairly, for which I thank you.

Now, my job as I see it over here is to try to show you that there is farming in England, in Britain, which is worthy not only of the consideration of the townspeople of Britain but also of your consideration. Now, it occurs to me that a good many of you may well ask, "Well, how in the world can there be any farming at all in a little sawn-off Island like that? There isn't room for any." Then, you read in the papers that there is only thirteen per cent. of the population of Britain on the land and you say again, of course, "The farms over there cannot amount to anything at all."

I met some new friends yesterday, at their leisure, and I rather gathered from them that possibly at this gathering the desire for entertainment might be greater than the desire for information. But, even so, I have a duty to the farms of my own country and if I have time I will try and entertain you later on. In the first place I want to give you a serious message and that is the importance of the British farm in any Empire scheme, in any discussion in this great Commonwealth of Nations.

This is a material age so I will first refer to its money value, the production side. If you look at a map you will see that funny little island, so small in Europe. Then you look across and you see that wide expanse of Canada. And, I come here and tell you something which you won't

believe but something which is true, that the agriculture of Canada produces just a little bit more per annum than the agriculture of my country, not much more; and that the agriculture of my country produces considerably more per annum, pound sterling, than the agriculture of Australia, and British farming produces every year four times the farming output of South Africa and I tell you that is not bad for a little sawn-off island. It may be small but we do know how to farm it.

Then, comes the question of capital. I had a great time at home trying to knock into people's heads that you cannot farm without capital. People come to me, townspeople chiefly, parents drive up and they say, "Mr. Street, we want to put Johnnie into farming. How do we do it and what is it going to cost?" I say, "Look here, don't waste his time and your money unless when he is trained you can give him some capital." I well remember one lady. "O, yes, a farmer doesn't need any capital. He just needs some cows and he milks them. He picks up the eggs and he cuts the wheat, but he doesn't need any capital." I said, "I am sorry, I am afraid Johnnie will have to have some." She said, "Well, we can let Johnnie have £200." A thousand dollars. I said, "I am sorry, but he can't do much with that." She said, "We shouldn't expect him to own his farm on the start." I had to tell her, "As a town farmer renting a farm, he will require, as a minimum, fifty dollars per acre for every acre he rents." When I told the lady that she said, quite frankly, "I don't believe it." Her husband, you notice, said nothing. It was very obvious to me, to use a farm illustration, the mare was the better horse in the stable and so I continued to talk to her. I said, "Look here, outside you have a car which is worth about £100." (You must translate all this into dollars because my mathematics is bad.) I said, "When that is held up on the highway by a herd of cows, what does your husband say?" She said, "I don't like to tell you." I said, "Right. The next time you are hung up, you will say, or get him to say, 'Our £100 car is being held up by £400

of cattle'—one item in a rather small farmer's budget." Then she began to realize that there was some capital in British farms.

I saw some figures the other day that said that the total capital in farms in the countries of Canada, Australia, South Africa and the Argentine, the total capital of those four countries engaged in agriculture was £1,920,000,000. For your information there is £1,200,000,000 invested in the farms of Great Britain. And I say to you it is not a small business for a small island.

Then, you come to the question of employment. The dairy industry, one branch of British farming, employs more people than will the ship building of Great Britain and all the electrical engineering of Great Britain added together, and nobody knows it, and those who do know it don't believe it, because it is difficult to see, and the modern mind, due to the effect, largely, I am afraid, of modern education, can only comprehend what it can see and there is nothing to see in farming—just a few poor fools tracking about in the mud, who will always be, according to the political views, either a charming joke or else a damned nuisance. They can't see it. People at home are quite willing to see and understand and value the Selfridge Building and the British Broadcasting House—big things like that—but they can not see farms.

When we built over there that big liner, the Queen Mary, everybody in Great Britain and, I think, quite a lot of people over here, were educated by the press and the wireless to know the length of her, the breadth of her, the tonnage and all about her, but as I have told you, although that was quite a big thing in the business life of the nation, a big thing in the one little industry of ship building, as I told you, dairying employs many more people.

If you could only get people when they see a man walking behind a few cows going down the road, if you could only get them to say, "Of course, that is bigger than the Queen Mary." It is true, it is bigger.

Let me tell you this: From our point of view at home

the time may come, and the wisest of us knows not how soon, when ships like the Queen Mary may be unable to cross the sea and that old fellow walking behind the cows in the Old Country will be considered of considerably more importance than he is today.

There is another side to the importance of farms from our point of view and that is the preservation of the beauty of England's countryside. A good many of you have visited England and know of that beauty. Have you thought that beauty is largely and almost entirely due to farming? The patch-work quilt—those irregular shaped fields, irregular patches of different colours, stitched together with the hand stitching of either straggling hedge-rows or gray stone walls, that patch-work quilt which clothes England, the beauty of it, the credit for it must be given to British farming. Nature, I grant you, weaves the fabric of that quilt, British farming designs the pattern. Take farming away, let it die over there, what have you? Swamps in your valleys, jungles, the patch-work quilt gone, and a great loss not only to the people at home but to the people over here. If we have anything in England which is unique, and of great value, which we ought to preserve, it is the beauty of our countryside and we can only preserve it, Ladies and Gentlemen, if we preserve a sufficiency of good farming in that Old Country.

Now, I come to a point which I think touches not only the farm at home but the farm here, and that is the question of national safety. It is funny, no matter how clever mankind becomes, you have to admit that over in the Old Country today the fear of the ancients, the fear of famine, is still the greatest fear. Now, we have a lessening in acreage. We keep building, we want more land for roads, for recreation, for houses, for railways. We are in the position of a beleaguered city—45,000,000 peoples on a little patch of ground. We must farm that patch of ground to its fullest capacity during peace, we must keep up the fertility of that patch of ground during peace so it can possibly save us during war. No statesman at home dare

neglect the farms of his own country. There are 45,000,000 people he is responsible for and he does not know at what time the world may go mad and those people need food. Whatever the cost we have to preserve, from that point of view, a flourishing agriculture in the Old Country and, as I have told you, the farmers are the trustees of the land. We have farmed that land over there for generations, for centuries, and we can still farm it and we must always be permitted to farm it well.

The idea of running agriculture in the way so many other industries are run is absurd. I will just for a moment contrast, if you like, agriculture and mining. Notice the difference. When you mine you use up national capital and make a most ungodly mess, but a farmer who knows his job can take crop after crop out of the soil and still leave its beauty and its fertility unimpaired. A farmer, a good farmer, produces national income and preserves national capital. No other industry can claim to do that. (Applause.)

So we must keep our farms up at home. Our farming at home must largely be the production in peace of perishable first quality foods because the less we grow during peace the more we shall be able to grow during war, and here is a point which I feel I can say quite fairly as an English farmer to you, and that is the relationship of Canada's agriculture to this modern fear of famine in the Old Country. You will always in any Imperial conflict get for your agriculture here very favourable consideration because of your geographical position. You are not only the shortest haul to the Old Country for food, but you are the safest haul. Canada's produce, in the event of war, can come to the Old Country past no hostile shore whatsoever. At the time when your wheat crop is ready for transport in the winter there are sixteen hours of darkness. We have got very clever with war inventions these days but in the minds of a good many people in England today is the knowledge that if war comes Canada's produce will get to us. (Applause.) So, we are always willing at home to recognize the importance of your farming over

here, to give it, in any deal between the Mother Country and the Dominions, a square deal. But I have come over here to try to point out to you that at the same time you must recognize, from various points of view, the importance of a flourishing agriculture on those few acres at home. We will recognize your importance. I have come here to ask you to recognize ours.

Now, that, I think, is the economic argument. There is the value of the British farm from the point of view of its money output, its employment, the question of national safety and the preserving of the beauty of the countryside, but there are other values to a rural population and this is a thing about which I am very keen, about which I know Mr. Marshall is very keen, and about which I hope that a good many of you are very keen and that is the non-material values of a rural population if you like, the spiritual values. God help a country that hasn't got a rural population because that is where the formation of national character is carried on, in the rural districts, not in the towns.

The British are, you will agree, an illogical people. We are, I know, the despair of more logical nations, Continental nations, especially. I give you an illustration: During the war, some very well meaning old gentlemen in the Old Country discovered to their horror that while the troops of other nations were going over the top singing songs of high moral fervour, that the British and Dominion troops were going into battle singing, quite frankly, songs that were not printable. They got very worried about it, and they said, "This cannot be," so they printed the proper type of songs and shipped them out to the front. Did the troops sing them? No, they didn't. They still went into battle singing the same sort of unprintable songs, one of which I dare to quote:

*Send my father and my mother,
Send my sister and my brother,
But for God's sake,
Don't send me.*

The British Tommy went into battle singing that and all the other nations scratched their heads and said, "What in the world can you do with a people like that? It isn't logical."

Well, life isn't logical. All the chess champions come from Czechoslovakia. If you want to play poker, they don't come from Czechoslovakia, the poker players, because poker isn't logical. Neither is life, neither is the art of government. That is not a logical thing but the art of government is a thing I think you will agree the British nation does possess in a marked measure. (Applause.) That art of government, Ladies and Gentlemen, was not learned in Britain's towns, it was learned in the country districts. I will give an illustration that will take you right back to Charles, the Second. At that time the British Constable was responsible for law and order in his village. At that time there was a law on the statute books that provided penalties, including branding, for any one who used bad language. At that time everybody in the village swore as often and as charmingly as they do today and nobody took the slightest notice of the law at all. A logical nation would either have enforced that law or repealed it. No, not the English, O, no. They just left it there and didn't use it. Then, one day, there was a fellow in the village who was a darned nuisance to everybody. He was a wife beater, a poacher, a thief and a drunkard and I think what some of our more advanced friends now call, anti-social. Then, one day, he swore. The village Constable said, "Here is this most excellent law," and he proceeded to put it into operation and that, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the art of government. (Applause.) Not just knowing how but knowing when and I tell you that is what it is.

Let us go to an even later date. A friend of mine now well into his seventies, when a young man had his first farm in a village in the Old Country. He was courting hard and the old verger of the parish came up one day, just as he was off to see his girl, and he said, "We have

elected thee overseer." Well, the overseer of a parish at that time had to make the rate, take charge of the parish, and this young man wasn't very much interested. He had other fish to fry. He said so. He said to the old villager, "Well, it is very nice of you to have elected me and all that but I am not very interested," and the ancient said, "Well, the damsel will be. The books be coming up to-morrow." Now, willy-nilly, that young man was forced to take his place in the government of his fellows and that was the beginning of his training in the English village. He grows up, does his job, plays his part all his life. Two years ago he was a J.P. He drove up outside my window one afternoon and I yelled to him to come in. I said, "Daniel, you look all hot and bothered." He said, "I should think so. I have just wasted all day in such-and-such a police court." I said, "What do you mean—all day?" He said, "Well, we have given three decisions, two legal and grossly unjust, but the last one was illegal and just. I was going to have my way about something. You see," he said, "I knew the people." And that is the whole point—he knew the people. That is where the art of government is learned in the Old Country districts. If you just want the letter of the law administered by a machine, well, have it. As an Englishman, I want something better.

Then, there is the charge of slowness which is always levelled against country people. I want to suggest to you today that the quality of being a little slower than one's fellows is a virtue, it is a thing to be admired. People are slow in the country. I suggest to you that they are sure.

I used to travel every day, every week, up to London by a certain train and at Woking, about fourteen miles from London the train used to fill up with people dashing up to town for business. I got to know them, I used to listen to them and they used to talk. They used to say, "Did you see what Lloyd George said in the Evening Standard yesterday? Did you hear what that silly ass, Street, said over the microphone last night? Did you hear what

somebody else said?" They never had an idea of their own. All second-hand—all second-hand stuff. All townspeople, you see. Poor devils, it must be second-hand stuff. I have got an old farmer friend close to eighty and he knows, and mark you, he has found it out himself, he knows it doesn't matter what the Daily Mail says, or what I say over the microphone, the grass won't grow unless the rain comes. "That," you say, "That isn't much." He knows it, he has discovered it himself. You have millions of people in town who have never discovered a blamed thing.

Then, there is the question of the proper use of machinery. If you don't have a rural population you will never get that because the country man uses machinery and refuses to serve it, whereas the town man, as I see it, is driven by a mechanical whip and has to serve the machinery which he has installed. In London, in the underground railway, I am one of the minority who stand upon the escalator and let it carry me to the top. I refuse to serve machinery. There are six or seven million people in London who have no faith in the machine they have installed and no time to use it. If you can imagine the mental condition of people who run up an escalator—do you wonder the troubles you have in your towns? I don't. No, there is no power on this earth, there is not sufficient money in the world to make an English agricultural labourer run up an escalator. You ask him to and he will look at that machine and say, "What, run up 'e? What are 'e aputtin, there for?" And I tell you, if you don't value your rural population, if you don't keep a sufficiency of people on the land in any country, you will have a country, a nation of people who have not sufficient intellectual quality to ask themselves that simple question, "What are 'e puttin' there for?"

We must keep a rural population in Canada. Their value is not, of necessity, in terms of money and in terms of dignity of individuality, of a few ideas which are not second hand, but they also have a faith in a higher power

than mankind because of their nearness to natural things. You have got to have a background of people like that.

Two years ago when we had a water shortage in the Old Country I lunched at the Cafe Royal with a friend, who was very annoyed when there was only a little water in the basin in the cloakroom. He said all sorts of things. I said, "Do you realize there has been scarcely any rain for two years?" He said, "Rain? Rain? What the devil has that to do with water in Piccadilly?" And that fellow thinks he is educated. He is ignorant, he doesn't know the first principles, but your country man is nearer to natural things and he is bound to realize that the question of water is in the hands of a higher power than mankind, not just in the hands of a borough surveyor, and it is because the country man must have a certain amount of faith that I recommend to you that he is very necessary to any country because, you see, with all the machinery which he uses on his farm, if you take away the faith that if he plants a seed that seed will come up, nobody will plant one seed and your farming will finish and your towns will finish quite quickly. You must have a few people with a background of wholesome sanity who are willing to admit the presence of a higher power than mankind with all his clever machines.

Then, is the country man a fool? He is slow in the uptake but I have never found him very much of a fool. I always liked the story of the town man who went to the English village where he met a very old man and said, "Grandpa, how old are you?" He said, "Governor, I be ninety-two—ninety-two." The stranger said, "Well, you don't look bad for ninety-two." "No, no, fairish." "Well, I can't see much the matter with you for ninety-two." He said, "No, Governor, thirst don't show." And you see, the clever townsman could do nothing else but take him into the village pub and pay his footing. I have never, I tell you, found the country man a fool.

I remember the townspeople who came near me and bought a house and employed a rather half-witted coun-

try boy. This boy was supposed to be nothing very special. He annoyed his employer because he would just say "Ah" and "Oh," and "Yes" and "No." He would never give his employer any title, he never called him "Sir," "Mr. So-and-So," or anything—just "Yes," and "No." One day this fellow said, "You know, I would like you to remember that I have a handle to my name," and this half-witted boy looked at him and said, "Why, most mugs have."

(Laughter.)

There is a story that I can recommend to you, a book to read, and that is the biography of Richard Jefferies, a poet and a writer, a biography written by Reginald Arkell, which is fifty per cent. biography of Richard Jeffries and fifty per cent. Reginald Arkell, blowing off a lot of personal steam. In it he tells the story of Jefferies' father who lived in North Wiltshire when there were no railways, and when he wished to go from Bath to London and wished to catch a coach he used to go to the summer house built at the bottom of the garden, go down with two or three friends, a decanter of sherry and a pipe and sit there and wait for the coach. He might have to wait an hour. Poor old fellow. You see, he lived in the olden days when we were not so clever as we are now. How we must pity him! Fancy sitting waiting an hour for your coach to London! Then, Mr. Arkell goes on to say, "The other day I saw a girl of nineteen knocked down in London Circus and killed. She couldn't afford to wait thirty seconds for her coach. Have we progressed? Of course, she was taken to the most efficient ambulance, the traffic was stopped by an efficient policeman, efficient nurses attended her, everything was very efficient. The point I wish to draw attention to is how Father Jefferies must have laughed above because he could afford to wait an hour for his coach."

And here is another thing which a townsman once said to me which showed me the value of country people. He read somewhere that people in the country planted trees and he said, "I will plant a tree." He lived in the town and he had a back garden and he planted one and the next

day he went and looked at it and it was eighteen inches high, a chestnut tree, and it had one sticky bud, and the thought suddenly struck him and he said, "By Jove, when this tree first blooms, I shall be dead and buried and my family will have forgotten me, and," he said, "I can't bear it." So he pulled up the tree and threw it over the wall. He was a townsman, living from day to day, he dare not look at death. That is another quality in our country people, that they have to live their lives at a natural speed and they are not afraid to look ahead, they are not afraid to say, "If I do that this year, perhaps in four or five years time I shall attain my object." It is worth while to have a background of people behind you who, as I say, do their job from a material point of view and also provide a spiritual background which every nation must require.

I should like now to thank you for listening to the disjointed ramblings of a Wiltshire farmer who owes a great deal to three years of very efficient education in the countryside of Northwest Manitoba. (Hearty applause.)

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure you have all enjoyed the most interesting and instructive speech by our distinguished guest, and on behalf of the Royal Winter Fair, the Empire Club and the Canadian Club, just before breaking up I am going to ask Controller Ralph Day if he will say a word.

CONTROLLER RALPH DAY: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Street, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have listened with a great deal of pleasure, as you also have, to Mr. Street, but I want to first thank my fellow townsmen for their logic and their far-sightedness in asking Mr. Street to come here today to say these few words to us. I have had the pleasure of reading just one of Mr. Street's books and it is therefore an even greater pleasure to me to stand here on behalf of my fellow citizens to thank him for coming here, to thank those who brought him and to say to you again Sir, "Thank you very much," and express the hope that we will again have the opportunity of hearing you. Thank you. (Applause.)

FROM THE HEART OF THINGS

AN ADDRESS BY A. BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P.

Thursday, September 9th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Your Honour, our Guests and Gentlemen: As this is the first meeting in the thirty-sixth year of the Empire Club of Canada, I have been asked to advise you that the Year Book will go forward to the members this week, and I am pleased to say it will show the Club in a very strong position. Last year we added over two hundred members to our roll and I think they all must be here today. The financial position is much stronger than it has been in many years.

On May 11th, the following cable was forwarded to the High Commissioner for Canada in London:

"On behalf of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, please convey to Their Majesties, King George, the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth, on the occasion of their Coronation, the Club's loyalty and wish that they may enjoy a long and happy reign." (Applause.)

I have the honour to read the reply: "I am commanded to convey the sincere thanks of the King and Queen to the members of the Empire Club at Toronto for messages of loyal assurances on the occasion of Their Majesties' Coronation, contained in your telegram.

Yours very truly,
A. H. L. Hardage."

This communication comes from the heart of things, as does our guest speaker today. (Applause.) We welcome Mr. Baxter as a distinguished Canadian and we, in Toronto are justly proud of him and grateful that he has consented to give us his time on this all too short holiday of his. This large attendance, Sir, speaks for your popu-

larity and the esteem in which you are held. Some have come to remember you by your writings during the war, under the name of "Sinbad, the Sapper," which articles, I believe, started you on your literary career. Others, too, honour you as a distinguished journalist and author and some as a Member of the Mother of Parliaments. All of which has shown me that you need no long introduction to this audience.

I have the very great pleasure of calling on Mr. A. Beverley Baxter, whose subject is, "From the Heart of Things." (Applause.)

MR. A. BEVERLEY BAXTER: Your Honour, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When every year the prospect of a holiday becomes one of the domestic issues of the Baxter family in London, we plan to go to the Pyramids or the south of France or to chance our luck to Tokio, or something, and almost every year that nostalgia for Canada over-rules our European temptations, so once more we have come back on our annual holiday to the place of our birth, (Applause) to renew again that contact with the realities of things which somehow mysteriously lies only in the soil of one's native land.

Now, when I am in England I say to my English friends, "There is an honesty about the very seasons in Canada. In the winter it is cold. In the summer it is hot." I think you may have overdone the honesty in August this year, but there is a vitality and a reality about Canada which is good to come back to and, Gentlemen, I am delighted to find my native Province of Ontario thoroughly embroiled in an old fashioned election. I come from a part of the world where parliamentary government is disappearing on every hand, where there is only one party in the State, sometimes not hardly a party but one man. Gentlemen, I like two parties in the state. If we are going to have a dictator, let us have an alternative dictator and, Gentlemen, I am old fashioned enough to believe that in a large city two morning newspapers are better than one. I say that, Gentlemen, without any comment at all upon

the excellence of the one that it is holding up its solitary position so nobly.

But I can't tell you how pleased I was because I spent the first morning when I came to Toronto with Sir James Dunn and I listened to his wisdom as he described Mr. Mitchell Hepburn to me—a man with the vision of a George Washington, the uprightness of a telegraph post, the austerity—(I hope I am not getting the descriptions mixed) (Laughter)—a man who had saved Ontario from real revolution and various other things.

Then, I went away and hardly had I left the superior presence of my friend, Sir James, when I ran into my old friends, Fred Morrow and Don Hogarth, and they took me to one side and they told me about Mr. Earl Rowe—a man with the vision of Abraham Lincoln, as upright as two telegraph posts. I thought, how fortunate a province that has a choice from two such paragons. With also the Independent (Colonel Drew) in the wings.

(Applause.)

Gentlemen, one more word about your own situation here. In the ignorance of my youth a few years ago here I said that I thought the elections here were rather disgraced by the rough and tumble epithets. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I apologize. Let us have all the quarrelling on the platform you can think of, as long as it is good and healthy and I rejoice that in Ontario the ballot counts for something. That is democracy. The right to choose your masters, and the right to fire your masters if you don't like them.

Now, Gentlemen, the title of my address to you is, "From the Heart of Things." When I sent that title to your Club, to whom I am very grateful for allowing me to address you today, it seemed a safe title because London is still the heart-beat of the world. I had no idea that in the brief time from my arrival the situation in Europe should have taken on so sinister and so serious a turn.

When Trotsky wrote his memoirs, he started with a sentence that is, I think, terrific in its impact upon the reader.

That opening sentence of Trotsky's Memoirs is, "It is the march of events." It is the march of events. When you look back upon the history of Europe since the War, or just before the end of the War, we see it now, not as a jig-saw puzzle, but a plan, as if some Satanic influence, some Satanic hand was directing every move which would culminate in a situation such as today. We look back now to 1917, upon the collapse of the Czarist Regime in Russia. It seemed then not very important. Russia was a long way off. Today we have that difficult, impenetrable Continent of Russia which no man clearly understands yet. We see in Kremlin a dictator with his smoldering revolver, living by fear, fear in his own heart, fear in his people's hearts, and what is the answer?

You switch down to the Treaty of Versailles, I am afraid one of the greatest tragedies of history as we look back upon it. It was not easy, not easy in the temper of that time.

We look back upon the desertion of the League of Nations by America, a country like the United States that has done so much for humanity and yet, perhaps, by that one single act of political manoeuvre, made inevitable the collapse of Europe.

So, we go on down the line where we see the collapse of democracy in Europe and the rise of Hitler. Hitler didn't create the situation. The situation created Adolf Hitler. So we make a mistake in criticizing the man as somebody who created the situation.

We see the comic opera abdication of Alphonso of Spain. A good newspaper story—very spectacular and no lives lost. It involved personalities which newspapers loved. Who could see that Spain would become that conflagration from which the sparks would be driven by the wind across the frontiers toward the rest of Europe?

And so on to the march into the Ruhr by France. They wanted to punish Germany by getting the coal out of the mines. Did they produce the coal? Yes, a certain amount, but they also dug from the earth suspicion and hatred which will not die for a long time.

So, we see these moves now culminating in today. Gentlemen, is there any hope of averting the war which threatens at this moment? Not with confidence, but with faith—I must repeat those words—not with confidence but the instinct of faith, I believe this war will not happen. (Applause). I believe it for two reasons. I have tried hard the last forty-eight hours to think what logic could apply to offset the forebodings of one's instinct. It seems to me there are two things which may prevent this conflagration spreading. One, oddly enough, is Germany. Hitler is not a one-man dictator. He is surrounded by three very wonderful men, very clever men—Herr Schacht, who knows the imminence of German bankruptcy; Von Blomberg, who knows that the German army is still eighteen months, technically, behind the French army; Von Neurath, the most experienced diplomat since Bismarck that Germany has produced, who knows that the history of the world is that not yet has any nation challenged Great Britain and survived.

We, in England, would like very much to work toward an Anglo-German approachment. It is impossible not to see the brutality of the German character. There is the brutality, you cannot deny it. When you think of the other day, when the Deutschsland was bombed by a Spanish aeroplane and Germany's reply was to open fire on the two battleships, upon an undefended port, and put to death four or five hundred women and children, with eyes out and entrails out, it is a terrible example, but brutality is not the only characteristic of the German people. Sometimes we forget that European liberalism had its birth in Germany, not very many years ago because the history of the German Empire is brief. Not so many years ago this land, that produced Beethoven and Wagner and Mendelssohn and Goethe and Schiller, looked as if it were to launch a liberalism that would create a new Europe. Bismarck, himself, said, "I do not fear any bullet but I fear the music of Richard Wagner." I can't believe that that Germany is entirely dead. It seems to me, therefore, that

we can look upon Germany—I hope so, I cannot speak with confidence and you must realize it would be presumptuous of me to speak with confidence on such a subject—and I believe in spite of all the evidence that Germany may steady this situation.

Gentlemen, the other quality, the other power which may steady the situation is Great Britain. I have not come for any purpose of Imperial propaganda. That would be unworthy of a man coming back to his native place. The British nation has made mistakes. It must take its responsibility for those mistakes, but for the last twelve or fourteen years, since Bonar Law came to power, Great Britain has exerted nothing upon the world that has not been fine, unselfish and idealistic. (Applause.) It is so easy to picture Great Britain as a millionaire, possessed of more than her share of the world's wealth, ready to intrigue, ready to act like a Pharisee, ready to be a hypocrite to save that ill-gotten wealth. Nothing is more false than that picture of the British people.

I was very much struck with something that Reverend Fallis said here the other day: "The British people are a people acutely conscious of their destiny under God." There is almost no sacrifice that Britain will not make for the appeasement of Europe and Great Britain has endured such slights, such calumny, such sneers, as has been very hard for a proud nation to take and all the time it has exerted this restraining, this magnificent patience. Britain realizes, more than any other nation that what happens to one nation happens to all mankind. Britain has a great sense of the centuries, a great sense of the past, a great sense of the future and my hope is that Britain may act as the restraining force upon this situation.

Gentlemen, that brings me to the subject, that part of my address to you, that the expression of all this is the British House of Commons or, perhaps, in fairness to Lord Queensborough, recently one of my fellow-guests with His Honour, we must let the House of Lords in somewhere and we call it the British Parliament.

Gentlemen, I think you will understand when I say it was not without some emotion that I stepped for the first time as a Member upon the floor of the House of Commons. I need not apologize before you because I think all of you would have experienced a similar feeling. I had a ticket for many years in the press gallery and attended many debates, but it is one thing to look down upon it and another to be a part of it, however insignificant, and I think I felt a little bit like a rookie from a minor baseball team must feel when he takes his seat with the New York Giants. He may be sold to the minor league some day, but he is there for the moment. It is a very small place, you know. In the House of Commons in England we sit very close to each other. We are not as fastidious as you are in Ottawa where you have a separate desk. We believe we think faster if we sit close to each other. At any rate we are more likely to think together.

Standing there on this little sacred plot of ground which is called the House of Commons, and seeing Lloyd George, Chamberlain and Stanley Baldwin, and the rest—well, there you are. There is the confession of the Toronto boy to you. I felt, "I am in the Big League, boys!"

I must say it has been a most remarkable experience because it has been an intensely dramatic parliament, the one elected in 1935. In one year we buried one King, we passed the Abdication of the second one, and there was the crowning of a third. In one year I swore allegiance, as a member of the House of Commons, to three Kings. It has been a very dramatic session.

But there are three things which have struck me most about the House of Commons. These three words I must get right. Its fairness, its magnanimity and its democracy. (Applause.) Now, if I can give you an example of what I mean by its fairness. We had a very terrible coal disaster in one of the collieries in England, where something like 278 men met a dreadful death and there was a Government enquiry. Finally, the result of the enquiry was placed in the hands of the members of the House of Com-

mons and we held a debate upon it and the debate was opened by David Grenfell, from the front bench of the Socialist Party. David Grenfell worked in the mines when he was eleven years of age. He educated himself to become a Mine Manager and is now one of the most respected men in the Socialist Party of England. It looked as if the case against the Manager was very bad in this report. David Grenfell rose to his feet and with a fairness which nobody can exaggerate, asked the House to recognize the position of the owners and the Managers. He did not try to underestimate the tragedy of the men who had died but he pleaded for the hard times that the industry had gone through, for the lack of capital, for these owners to reconstruct their mines. He did not excuse the owners, but if we were going to punish them, he pleaded at least we must try to understand their point of view. It was a magnificent speech and deeply moved the House. Then, he was followed by Osbert Peek, a very rich young colliery owner from the North, and Peek got up, went over the points excusing the Managers which Grenfell had made, and it looked as if he were going to take advantage of Grenfell's speech to plead for the Managers, and suddenly he stopped and he said, "I am a colliery owner. Naturally, I have great sympathy with those who operate the collieries of this country, but if that report concerned any colliery over which I had control, I would stand in this House, ashamed to look any man in the face." It was a great but not unusual moment in the House of Commons, where the workman pleaded from the point of view of the employer and the employer repudiated the case of his fellow employers. That is part of the genius of that strange country of England.

Now, I say the next quality is magnanimity. Perhaps I might cite as a case of that, the fascinating and imponderable personality of Winston Churchill. Winston Churchill is the ablest parliamentarian of our day, a man of unbounded vitality, of great vision, of every quality that the fairies could bestow upon him, but judgment.

When Mr. Chamberlain formed his Administration recently, his new Administration, Churchill had great hopes that the Government would use his undoubted genius, because it is undoubted, but once more he was passed over and left the free lance of politics. The most powerful private member but still out of the Government, and you will remember, just before Mr. Chamberlain formed that Administration—I must be careful because he is my Leader—he had just brought in one of the rottenest taxes that ever was. The soldiers would use a better word—my old friends down here. He brought in an impossible profits tax as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which his own supporters refused to accept because there, again, the British House of Commons has a very curious habit of accepting leadership just so long as leadership is what it wants. Then it says to the Leader, “I am very sorry. You have got to take that back.” So the Party told Mr. Chamberlain he had to withdraw the profits tax, and Mr. Chamberlain stuck to his guns. It was humiliating, something he didn’t want to do. Finally, after many days debate it reached its climax, and up got Winston Churchill, and I must say my heart bled for Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Churchill was in grand form—something like Tommy Farr was the other night. Mr. Churchill, with a gesture of his hands, they are always going out in front when he is feeling good, turned toward the Prime Minister, three yards away and I thought the Prime Minister was going to have the pummelling of his life. I must explain. If in the British Parliament you stutter, your future is certain. If you can add to that a lisp, there is practically no height to which you cannot attain. And Winston Churchill both stutters and lisps. The value, I may explain, of the stutter is that it is like hurling the javelin. It goes round and round and round and when it goes it is devastating when it arrives. But, Churchill, turning to Mr. Chamberlain, said, (I don’t think I will attempt the lisp and the stutter but you will agree it was there) “I do hope that the Prime Minister will not stand upon his dignity. I can understand how he has brought

in this tax and doesn't want to let it go, but I do assure him that his dignity will not be hurt if he withdraws it. On the contrary, I ask him to cast his mind back to his immediate predecessor, Mr. Baldwin, now Lord Baldwin, did Mr. Baldwin object to saying he was wrong? Why, almost every day he came to the House of Commons and admitted he was wrong and with every admission that he was wrong his prestige grew to such heights that it became blasphemy to criticize him. And I assure the Prime Minister that I, myself, have been not without triumphs of this nature. When I was Chancellor of the Exchequer I brought in a most excellent tax, called the 'kerosene tax'. It hurt nobody, it produced the money, it was magnificent. Having brought it in, I went down to the country to survey at a distance my own masterpiece. When I got there the telephone went and it was the Chief Whip and I went to receive the congratulations of the Chief Whip, and he said, "Hey, come on back." I said, 'What is the trouble?' He said, 'The Party is after you. They won't have it.' So, I came back to London, walked into the House of Commons, saw Mr. Snowden, with his gleaming eye and his notes and I knew he was going to attack me, Mr. Speaker, I withdrew the tax. And that night my reputation was higher than it had ever been."

Well, with this speech he created such a magnanimity, if you like, such humour, it was a brilliant speech. The House was laughing all the way through it. But it was a brilliant speech designed for one purpose, to create the atmosphere in which Chamberlain could withdraw that tax. That was done by a man deliberately refused admission to the Cabinet two days before.

Now, as I near the end of my talk, if you will permit me, I will give you what I think is a very interesting case of the very genuine democracy of the House of Commons. The House of Commons is a little bit like the army in a war. You can't hide your basic quality from the men around you. They know you, no matter how you act. They know if you are a humbug, they know if you are

playing some little game. You can't fool the House of Commons. Heredity, wealth, position count for nothing in that place. I do say if the descendents of a great Salisbury turns out to be a first rate politician, then the House is glad. I grant you that. They love to see the families of political importance going through and continuing to play their part in public life, but position itself and wealth count for nothing.

As an example of this: One day Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, on behalf of the Government, had brought in something to do with the unemployed and a furious debate broke out. I must say the Socialists put their case very well indeed, and it was becoming quite uncomfortable for the Government, when suddenly Jimmy Maxted of Glasgow—I think most of you know about him—rose with a great fierceness and started to attack the Government and finally he said, "And to think that this measure should have been introduced by a man like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—thrown up by the people." And at this, the Marquis of Titchfield, who is about six foot ten, has an enormous voice, and will be the Duke of Portland when his father dies, looked up and said, "We are all thrown up by the people," and so startled the House that even Jimmy hardly knew what to say and he said, "Well, surely my noble friend wouldn't suggest he has been thrown up by the people?" "Yes," said the Marquis, "I have been thrown up by my own constituents to be a member of this House." Then he laid a very clever trap for him. He said, "You wouldn't suggest you have been thrown up in the same way as the Right Honourable gentlemen on the front bench? "meaning not from such lowly depths?" "No," said Titchfield, "I certainly haven't been thrown to such heights as the Right Honourable gentlemen but in my own humble way, I have been thrown up." That was the end of that debate.

Well, I am afraid the latter part of my address has taken on something of the character of anecdotes, but I think these little stories may give a little inside glimpse

of the day by day fascination of being in a place that is at once so human, so democratic and so pregnant with history.

Now, if I may just come to the end of my talk to you. I want to come back once more to the question of our own feelings toward Europe and Britain at the present time. Earl Grey, when he was Sir Edward Grey said something in 1914 which I suppose will live for all time for what you might call the tragic beauty of the words. He said, when the news came that Germany was mobilizing and had rejected the British ultimatum, "The lamps of Europe are going out one by one and we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime." I think his prophecy has proved so terribly true, but if I could leave this thought with you today: We cannot content ourselves, those of us whose national destinies have been cast in happier moulds than those of the people of Europe, we cannot content ourselves with the curse of Mercutio. It isn't enough to say, "A plague on both your houses!" No man can live to himself alone and no nation can live to itself alone.

(Applause.)

I was in Washington a few days ago and I had a long talk with Mr. Cordell Hull, when I was there. Washington is in a state of nerves. Washington, with its United States, with its protection of the Pacific and its still vast protection of the Atlantic is like a country that feels itself on the eve of a St. Bartholmew. I don't think I am exaggerating. They fear something unseen. They can't put it into words. I am not quoting Mr. Cordell Hull now. This is from many conversations I had in Washington and New York. There is a state of tension in America which I doubt exists at this hour in Britain and part of it, to my mind, is that policy of isolation, of cutting yourselves off as a nation from the problems of the outer world and concentrating on your own problems until your own problems rise up to destroy you. You cannot live by yourselves alone. What a pity, what a pity, Gentlemen, that this nation of the United States, this so great a nation

which means so much to the destiny of ourselves and Canada and the world, what a pity that at this moment it wouldn't gamble upon high-minded and safe and idealistic intervention in Europe! Must the whole of the cares and the problems of Western civilization rest forever upon the little Island of the United Kingdom? It isn't fair!

But there is this much, if Grey said that the lamps of Europe are going out one by one, the lamps of democracy are still burning even if they are flickering somewhat at this time, the lamps are still alight in the countries which live under the protection, at any rate, under the dignity, of British citizenship. Those of you who sometimes think this Imperialism is a cheap word and that Imperial aggrandizement is something unworthy, why not think of the countries of the British Empire and of the United States, with all its troubles, as countries in which the lamps are still alight and, Gentlemen, you can help in Canada so much. I don't mean by that that you can translate that into arms or artillery or such things. I don't mean that at all. The people of Britain have grave doubts—Anthony Eden is carrying far too big a task for a man of his years but doing it very bravely and very well—Eden and Chamberlain are carrying particularly heavy tasks—if sometimes they could feel, as they do, but if they could feel even more certain that in Canada those of us who are Canadians trust the British Government supremely.

Therefore, I would end my talk to you with these words and I say this as one who in his affection puts Canada first. To me Canada is my native land and I shall be very unhappy if anything ever severs me from my close association with my own people here, but I say this as a Canadian to Canadians, I urge you to trust the spirit of Britain. I urge you, Gentlemen, to strengthen the spirit of Britain for, believe me, the burden that Britain carries is very great. (Prolonged Cheers.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Baxter, we do trust and we will help. Thanking you very much on behalf of The Empire Club of Canada for this wonderful address, and on behalf of

our guests and the radio audience, may I wish you and Mrs. Baxter an enjoyable holiday in Canada, continued success in the Big League, and a safe return to the heart of things.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

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BEVERLEY BAXTER—On leaving Canada.

"I had the honor of addressing a large gathering of the Empire Club in Toronto on this visit. It was a heartening and inspiring experience. Here was an audience not only of one's fellow countrymen but one's fellow Torontonians, anxious that the returning peregrinating prodigal should do his best, eager to acknowledge merit if it appeared, ready to forgive any oratorical mishaps, swift to react to humor or irony, and not ashamed to be moved if the speaker spoke with sincerity. Only in Vancouver and Glasgow have I found gatherings which matched the qualities of this one in Toronto."—*MacLean's Magazine*, Nov. 15, 1937.

THE ROMANCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

AN ADDRESS BY RT. REVEREND ROBERT J. RENISON,
M.A., D.D.

Thursday, October 14th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, Dr. Joseph Parker once introduced on outstanding public man of England to a representative audience in the City Temple, London, in these words: "Loose him and let him go." Abrupt as this may seem, it was a great tribute to the speaker's knowledge of his subject and his powers of expression. Before today's address is over you will admit that this would be a fitting introduction to Bishop Renison. This Canadian came to us from Ireland at an early age. He is a product of Trinity College at Port Hope, where he was head boy; Wycliffe College claims him, The Universities of Toronto, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have honoured him. He has served the Church of England in Moosonee, in the North; Hamilton, in the South; and Vancouver, in the West. He was Bishop of Athabaska when Ontario again claimed him. A member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, he was affectionately known as "Bobby" Renison, and has always had the problems of the returned man before him. Thus, Dr. Renison has touched life in many centers and at many angles and he brings to his address a trained mind, stored with sympathetic reading and much travel. I shall now loose him and let him go. His subject is "The Romance of Constantinople." I have the honour to call upon Right Reverend Robert J. Renison. Dr. Renison.

(Applause.)

RT. REVEREND ROBERT J. RENISON, M.A., D.D.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When one who lives in this

new and western world crosses the ocean and comes to the gates of Hercules and takes a first view at the Mediterranean Sea the impression that comes to your mind is "That this is a little ocean of molten history." As you look to the right at the towering peaks of North America from which the Moors came over to make their final conquest in Spain, all the way down the northern coast of Africa there is history everywhere. It is difficult to note, apart from applied science, what great gifts we have that have not come from the Mediterranean world—art and history and religion are all there. Ancient Egypt, Carthage, Rome, Greece, Constantinople, Syria—it seems as if the ghosts of sails appear before our eyes as we enter into the Mediterranean Sea. But more especially is this the case when after a long journey (because at Gibraltar you are not half way yet to the end of the sea) when you go down to Egypt and start that last voyage northward for a thousand miles you seem to be passing through a corridor of glory. The Isles of Crete, Rhodes and Samos and Delos and Patmos, everyone of them thrills the heart of the traveller with the thought of the romance of history.

At last you come to the gates of the Dardanelles. On one side just beyond the Island of Tenedos you seem to see in your vision the towers of ancient Troy and you can hear the shouts of Agamemnon and Hector and the other heroes who are displaying their chivalry before Priam and his family as they are standing on the walls. On the other side at Cape Helles there is a white shadow that brings silence and reverence to every Anglo-Saxon heart. There is the holy ground of Anzac, just as immortal and just as marvellous as the Iliad of ancient Troy. This is the gateway to Constantinople. For a hundred miles and more the approach, as if along a great avenue brings you to one of the most remarkable cities of the whole world. First of all at Chanak you come to the narrows, only about five hundred yards wide, where the British ships were sunk in 1915. It is here that Xerxes built his wooden raft

across the Dardanelles when he came to attempt to conquer the ancient youth of Marathon and Salamis. As you go down further the waters open up into the little Sea of Marmora and there comes the Bosphorus itself. Everywhere, there is history. You have just passed the place where Leander made his famous swim to see Hero. On the other side of the Bosphorus it opens up into the Black Sea, known to the ancients as the Euxine Sea. And, it is on the left as you enter that you approach the City of Constantinople. It was known in ancient days as Byzantium, founded by the Greeks, probably somewhere about 600 B.C. It was looked upon as the extreme outpost of Europe. Its history is rather nebulous in those days but the site of the city, I think, is incomparable in the whole world. Not the Bay of Naples, not any other harbour I have ever seen can compare with the glory and majesty of Constantinople. It is on the left hand side as you come in from the Sea of Marmora, two or three little islands are in front of you and you see the Golden Horn that seems to run like a channel right through the city, where the waters of the Lycus River come and which the Turks call "the sweet waters of Europe." For seven or eight miles the hills and terraces are covered with mosques and with palaces and the shores are lined with the country houses of the old grandees of the Turkish Empire. On the other side, of course, Scutari, the Asiatic suburb, lies. For twenty-five miles or more this little channel, averaging a mile and a half, with a current in it, runs to the waters of the Black Sea.

It is the meeting place of the East and the West and without wasting too much time on its early history I would like to say that it first became famous in the year 332 when Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, chose Byzantium to be the capital of his eastern Empire. After the wars of conquest of the Roman Empire were over it became obvious, owing to the pirates of the Mediterranean and owing to the difficulty of reaching the desert kingdoms in Arabia and elsewhere, that there should be a new Rome, so the

new Rome was built in the year 332. Constantine made it his capital. It has seven hills and six valleys. The organization of the city and its walls were like the walls of the original Rome and at the beginning the whole of the ancient world was robbed in order to make Constantinople great. In one of his incomparable phrases Gibbons says that the art and the beauty of Constantinople, from Athens, from Antioch, from Alexandria and from all the cities of the world had everything except the soul of their creators. From Athens and from Olympus, from the banks of the Nile, from Northern Syria, there were brought the greatest statues and the greatest objects of art that the whole world could produce in order to make this city a memorable one. Many of the ancient people of the East flocked to it and many of the grandees of Rome made it their permanent residence. After Constantine the city began to outshine ancient Rome.

I need not remind you of the fact that beginning about the year 400 Italy was over-run, time and time again by the northern and western tribes and by the Goths and Huns. Rome became a comparatively insignificant city for a long time but Constantinople grew and prospered and the city about which I am going to speak to you for a few minutes today was probably for a thousand years the greatest city in all the world.

The second builder of Constantinople was the great Emperor Justinian. Before his time, it is true, the city expanded so that its walls had to be enlarged over and over again. It became the great center of Christianity, especially of Eastern Christianity. It was there in the old church of Saint Sophia, that John Chrysostom, the most famous preacher in the ancient world, held his throne as the Patriarch of Constantinople. But when Justinian came to the throne it seemed as if the Roman Empire was to be reborn a second time. Italy was in desperation. The Western Empire was unable to protect itself and the great General Belisarius made conquests in Africa and recap-

tured Rome itself. He was the greatest warrior of his age, but Justinian was great, not only as an organizer of victory but he was the man who reorganized the laws of the ancient Roman world and the laws of Justinian today are known wherever there is law in the civilized world. After great riots between the Greens and the Blues, two circus rival factions which half destroyed the City, he determined to build a new church and he called it the Church of Saint Sophia, the Saint of Sacred Wisdom. Saint Sophia is not a lady but I have no doubt whatever, that the Greek type of mind and the tradition that came from Athens, where Pallas Athene was the presiding goddess had something to do with naming the Saint of Wisdom as the name of this great church.

If you don't mind, for a few moments I will tell you something about this church of Saint Sophia. I don't think there is any church in the world that ought to be compared to her, for several reasons. First, I want you to remember it was built in the year 532, and although the roof fell, owing to a great earthquake in the year 550, it was completed again in 558 and that church has stood practically intact since that day to the present time. Is there any church in all the world or any building in all the world that has lived for all these centuries? The church was a new idea in architecture. It was the supreme and dying effort of the Greek genius. It is about 185 feet high. It is the shape of a Greek cross. That is to say, the transepts are the same as the nave and it is about 230 feet long and 230 feet wide, but the glory of the church is its dome. There was nothing like it in history before. How it was built, God alone knows. When you consider what the engineering equipment of the the world was in those days and realize that that great dome, rising on its four pillars with its forty windows, has remained for 1500 years, it seems almost an incredible thing. The church was built of burnt brick. The great pillars in the center, of course, were stone. When it came to building the dome

we are told that the builders went to Rhodes to procure a particular kind of porous pumice stone and some brick that is one-fifth the weight of ordinary brick and on account of that they say in that climate the dome has remained just as it is to the present hour. The outside of the church is not particularly glorious, in fact it is covered with stucco, but the inside of the church must have been magnificent beyond all comparison. Justinian received gifts from all over the world. There are eight pillars there that came from the temple of the sun at Baalbek—scarlet porphyry. There are several more great green marble pillars that came from the ancient temple of Diana at Ephesus, and there are one hundred and nine pillars of the choicest marble that could be found in the ancient world that are the glory of the church today.

The inside of the church is entirely covered with mosaic. It seemed to be the last form of art, ecclesiastically speaking, in the old Grecian days. Pictures of the stories of the Bible, of Christ and his Virgin Mother were to be found there and the colour and glory of the interior of the church was legend in ancient times. The altar was solid gold and, of course, there were relics, according to the custom of those times, assembled from all over the world.

There was the picture of that ancient church and even after 1500 years, I want to say when anybody has once looked at it and compared it with other churches, you are somehow or other impressed with certain characteristics. You are first impressed with the fact that all the really great churches of the world are imitations of Saint Sophia. For instance, Saint Paul's in London, is given its dome which is an imitation of that at Saint Sophia. Even the great Saint Peter's in Rome departed from the pure Gothic in order that it might carry out the idea of a great congregational church. That came from Saint Sophia. And beyond that is one thing I never realized until I saw it, that every great Mahommedan mosque of the world is almost a literal copy of Saint Sophia. There are five or six

great mosques almost the size of Saint Sophia in Constantinople today. There is the glorious blue mosque, the mosque of Sultan Suleiman, the Magnificent. The mosque of Sultan Bayezid, and others. Some a little longer, some with a little more height, but evidently they were all built by men who looked at the standard of this glorious old church.

The story of the Eastern Empire is one, of course, that is hardly known to Western people at all. Even in our colleges today it is passed over in one or two lectures in the ordinary general course, but as a matter of fact for many hundreds of years the Eastern Roman Empire was far more important than the Western Empire from the point of view of the world at large. Constantinople grew when Rome began to decline and was essentially a sea empire, and the glory of Constantinople as a city and as a capital of the Empire came from the fact that it had two gates on the Bosphorus and the Dardenelles, and as long as she commanded the seas, nothing in the world could touch her and her fleets for a long time were the greatest fleets in the Mediterranean.

Then, there came that strange phenomenon of the rise of Islam. You remember how it began in Arabia and how that mystic prophet with his vision of God somehow or other had the gift to electrify the desert people who from the beginning of the world had nothing to do with world politics at all. They went like a prairie fire across Africa and swept the Christian churches off the Mediterranean and they went over in the year 700 to Gibraltar and you can see the old tower built there a few years before the battle of Tours that drove them back under the Christian leadership of Charles Martel in 732. They went into Asia Minor and one after another of the Greek islands were occupied and when they once had touched the Turks who were not the original Mahommedans, the mahommedan religion seemed to give a vital power to those people which made them for a time the most dramatic and the most vital power in the whole world. It wasn't a very high type of civiliza-

tion but somehow or other the unity of the Mahommedan world is one of the most extraordinary things to be found in history and one or two things I am going to say, I think will throw a little bit of light on our modern political world. Those were days when the Christian Church was split asunder. About the middle of the eleventh century came the division between the Eastern and the Western Church—apart from the theological questions, a split between the genius of Rome and the genius of Greece. For a long time the two sections of Christendom contested with each other. They couldn't understand each other. They would have nothing to do with co-operation, but the extraordinary power of Mahommedanism seemed to be that it bound to itself every nation that it touched. Like a flying wedge they went through the Eastern world.

The story of the Crusades is a fascinating study. The people who were most interested in the Crusades were the Western nations of Europe, England and France and Germany. It was there that the Knights came and the Eastern churches had little to do with it. The only interest they had was the picture of the Crusaders as they passed by. One of the things that comes to man today when he travels in a comfortable steamship or with motors or on express trains, is to think of the vitality, of the spirit of people who lived seven hundred years ago. When you think of the first Crusaders, crossing France and Germany, going through Austria, coming through Roumania, right down to the Black Sea and then marching down to the Dardanelles and crossing over and going along that rocky coast of Asia Minor, all the way down to Northern Assyria, building their castles as they went, how they had the power and how they had the spirit for the long march is beyond comprehension. Yet, they conquered Jerusalem. But after the third Crusade, made famous by Sir Walter Scott, the Crusade in which Richard, the Iron-Hearted, took part, the philosophers and the leaders of the Christian Crusading ideal in Europe felt it was a wrong thing to march thou-

sands of miles on foot when they should have gone by sea. So, a fourth Crusade was planned and Innocent, the Third, one of the great Popes, was very anxious that this should be a final and successful Crusade and the idea was that it was to be transported by sea instead of travel by land, and the only great maritime Christian power at that time in the Mediterranean was Venice. I will say a word or two about Venice later on. So, it was arranged that this Fourth Crusade which was to be headed by Richard, of England, who, unfortunately, died in the year 1199, should march to Venice and from The Lido embark to Egypt, the Achilles' heel of the Turkish Empire. Everything was carefully planned. Then came the terrible betrayal of Christendom by the Venetian Republic.

We hear so much about the art, and so much about the glory and enterprise of ancient Venice that we sometimes forget one of the greatest betrayals in Christian history, a story very well concealed for hundreds of years. It is only in the last few years that it has really become known, owing to the incomparable skill of that Artistic liar Marshal Villchardouin. Chosen by the Venetian Republic to write the story he told such a plausible story to exonerate the Venetians that no one knew the truth of the matter until modern historians got down to some other facts of history.

Here is the story: The Crusaders came to Venice and many having gone by other routes, they found they were not able to fill all the ships the Venetians hoped to give them. Nevertheless, five hundred Venetian ships were filled. Every Prince had a ship. They were to sail but they didn't have money to pay the passage.

By the way—very much by the way—I don't know whether many of us know that the word 'saunter' that we use comes to us from the Crusades to the Holy Land. In the old days when the Crusaders travelled along they used to beg their way or steal their way from one town to another, not caring whether they made a direct line or not. When anybody asked in a foreign language where they

were going, they said that they were going to "Santa Terra," to the Holy Land. So the word 'saunter' with its modern significance comes from the old days of the Crusades.

When they came to Venice they found that they couldn't saunter any more. The Venetians were first class business men. They had a marvellous way of combining religion and business and they decided they were going to make the Crusaders pay for their trip out of the profits of the expedition and they also decided that it was not much use going to Egypt, which after all was a rather poor place from the financial point of view and it would be much easier to attack Constantinople in a Christian country, the capital of a Christian Empire. At that time Venice was in an extraordinarily favourable position in relationship to Constantinople.

In the little story I am trying to tell you I should try to picture to you that during the years after the spread of Mahommedanism along the shores of the Mediterranean it not only went into Europe, and into the Balkans and got beyond where Constantinople was, but nearly all the Greek Islands were one after another picked up. It was something of a miasma, an intellectual, physical degeneration after the ninth century in the old Greek Empire. Therefore, when the Empire, still incomparably rich, wanted protection they decided to make Venice the protector of the Empire and the Venetian fleet for a long time was looked on as the defence of the Eastern Empire and for this were given special concessions in Constantinople. The Pisans and the Genoans had to pay for their trading rights in Constantinople but Venice had a monopoly. Therefore, they were very close to the situation in Constantinople and what they really wanted was to conquer Constantinople itself and, first of all, making a pretence of conquering a city called Zara, in one of the Adriatic Islands, and planned the Crusade for the winter and by some extraordinary magic got the Crusaders to come to the walls of Constantinople which for seven hundred years had never been penetrated

or conquered in the many times the Empire had been attacked and which somehow some strange power of protection made inviolate. This Christian Crusade in the year 1204, after two attacks, sacked Constantinople and put the city to the sword. The orgies of licentiousness were beyond description. There was a prostitute enthroned in the place of the Patriarch and she danced before the Crusaders. They robbed the church of Saint Sophia and the relics were sent all over the world. Do you know that the bronze horses to be found over Saint Mark's today were taken at that time from Constantinople? The paintings of Christ, reputedly by Saint Luke, which had been for hundreds of years in Saint Sophia was taken to Genoa. I saw it there last summer. The bones of John the Baptist are in the Cathedral in Genoa and countless cities in France and Italy were made rich and prosperous because of the relics stolen from Saint Sophia. It was one of the greatest betrayals in the history of Christendom and the already moribund Empire never recovered from that blow.

The years went on. It became obvious to a great many people that the power of the Greek Empire was gone, but still it didn't seem to be possible to shake Constantinople itself. Of course, there was the great intellectual battle between the Western and the Grecian Church. Many times the leaders of the Western Church, the Pope himself, had held out hope of material aid and men and money from the Western nations as a defence against Mahomedanism, if and when the Greeks would consent to union and in the year 1438, at the great Council of Florence, the unfortunate Emperor, seeing the end in sight, with some of the greatest nobles came to the Council and there, on behalf of the Eastern Church, he pledged union with the Western Church, but as soon as it became known in Constantinople there was a riot and the Emperor was nearly assassinated. The common people of the Eastern church refused to have anything to do with the Western Church. In the meantime the growing power of Mahomedanism

made its way. In the words of an historian that I looked at just this morning, to the axion of Gregory, the Seventh, "Rather Islam than Schism," the Greeks of Constantinople replied, "Better Mahommed than the Pope."

In the meantime, Islam ruled. There is something extraordinary about the pictures of the early Mahommedan warriors. You can see their portraits in the palaces of the Sultans in Istambul, which is the modern name of Constantinople. They look like men who were conquerors. They seem as if they were made of chilled steel. Their eyes seem to glint fire. Their harems were not their chief interest and their men were always in training. They were electrified with the conception that Islam should conquer the world and one after another the Greek islands were occupied by the Turks. Yet, the Turks were not actually sailors at all. The time came when they landed in the Balkans and they occupied Adrianople. Still, like an island in its incomparable site, Constantinople stood secure. Of course, there were all kinds of treaties between the great Sultan and the Emperor but they were only biding their time.

At last, Mahommed, the Second, came to the throne, as the Sultan of Turkey. He was the second great founder of Islam. He was a young man, a man with a great deal of culture, according to those days. He spoke not only several eastern languages but Latin and Greek and he quoted Persian poetry, but he had a very violent and uncontrollable temper. The first thing he did, as a boy when he came to the throne, was to strangle his baby brother in his bath and as soon as he became Sultan he determined he was going to conquer Constantinople.

There is something pathetic in the various attempts made by the dying Empire to forestall the inevitable. It just happened there was a hero, a saint and a philosopher Emperor at the time. He was Constantine, the last. There were embassies sent all over Europe but the people in Western Europe were not much interested. Those were

not the days of the radio and the telegraph. Nobody paid much attention to what was going on and every little European kingdom had its own axe to grind. There was no unity, even in the western part of Christendom and gradually the power of Islam drew nearer and nearer to Constantinople and the final crash came when Mahommed decided to build a fort within three miles of Constantinople on the shore of the Bosphorus. The idea was that it was to protect Constantinople from the pirates who might be there. Finally, the crash came. Constantine did everything that any one could do to prevent the war. He even offered to sign submission to the Sultan as his successor and at last, when war was declared, these words were written by Constantine. I think they are worth quoting. These words are from a personal letter that was written to the Sultan: "That thou desirest more war than peace is clear. As I cannot stay thee either by my protestations of sincerity or by my readiness to swear allegiance, so let it be according to thy desire. I turn now and look alone to God. Should it be His will that this city be thine, where is he who can oppose His will? If it should be His will to inspire thee with a desire for peace, I shall be happy. In the meantime, I release thee from thy oath and treaties and closing the gates of my capital I will defend my people with the last drop of my blood and in happiness until the all-just and supreme Judge calls us both before His judgment seat."

The greatest cannons in the world were brought forth for the siege. The attack was from the interior, although the Turkish fleet lying outside threw a cannon ball of a thousand pounds of granite. The cannon was built of copper and built by a Christian artisan and one of the greatest tragedies of the whole final scene is this, that in this great city only ten thousand men could be found fit to bear arms. There were 250,000 Turks from all parts of the Mahommedan world and among them, and let us as Christians hang our heads to hear it, there were 35,000 Christians in the opposing army.

The story of the last days of that seige is one of the most heart-trending misery. Constantine was a hero and to the very end it seemed as if the inevitable might be prevented, but at last, on the 29th day of May, in the year 1453, the walls were battered down and Constantine was cut to pieces at the head of his men. There was the end of the Roman Empire. It was the end of the Middle Ages, the turning point in the history of the world.

After 500 years that church still endures. You know, it was turned into a Mahommedan mosque. Every vestige of Christianity was taken out of the inside of it. Every statue was broken and the mosaics were covered with a thick coat of plaster but today, under the liberal policy of Mustapha Kemal Pasha they are beginning to take down the plaster again and this ancient church—it is no longer a church, of course, it is no longer a mosque, it is a museum now, is revealed to us as one of the wonders of history.

The conquest of Constantinople was not an unrelieved tragedy. For the first time in hundreds of years, Greek scholarship was released and its scholars fled for refuge to Western Europe. This fact combined with the discovery of printing began the Renaissance, which was the birth of modern learning in the civilized world.

Islam very soon began to recede and its story for the last 300 years has been the ebbing of a tide which at one time threatened to engulf all Europe. On land the Battle of Vienna, when John Sobieski, King of Poland, forever halted the Turkish advance in Southern Europe, and on sea, the Venetian victory of Lepanto writes the end of the chapter.

The luxury of the Sultans in their harems did not suit the conquering sons of the desert and so it came to pass that from the days of Catherine, the Great, the Russian Empire which inherited the name and the genius of the Greek Church looked with crusading eyes on the old city of Constantine. In the days of Disraeli, if it had not been for the intervention of England and other Christian powers,

the Czar would have avenged the tragedy to the Greek Empire of 1453. In the days of the Great War, the Turkish Empire met its doom and once again it was the division of material interests among the Christian conquering nations which prevented modern Greece making its capital at Constantinople. In the last twenty years the only link which binds the former provinces of Islam is their common religion. The modernized Turkish state under Kemal Ataturk, while it has no political relationship to the Arab kingdoms, is the hope of Islam in our strange, bizarre world of today.

The lesson that the Christian nations of the world to-day may well learn is that unity is strength. We can understand the feelings of the modern Turkish state in building its new capital of Ankara in the highlands of Asia Minor. Istambul is an ancient Queen, weeping beside the straits, dreaming of her past and awaiting the trumpets of Justinian.

My time is up. I am sorry to have kept you so long but I thought perhaps a few words concerning this little-known story of the Eastern World might justify itself.

(Hearty applause.)

PRESIDENT: Dr. Renison, owing to your wonderful gift of expression, we have travelled with you through the ages. You have given us of your knowledge in this beautiful and instructive address and we wish to carry your words and not mine away with us, so I very simply say, on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada and your radio audience, that we are very grateful to you and I express our sincere thanks.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

THE CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF CHINA, JAPAN AND RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST

AN ADDRESS BY MR. O. W. RODOMAR

Thursday, October 21st, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, at no time in the world's history has the "Law of the Neighbourhood" been so evident in its operation as at the present time. The radio, telephone, aviation and other means of rapid communication and transport have brought even the most remote nations almost momentarily into touch with one another and clearly demonstrates that no nation or people can live to themselves, their problems, commercial, social and cultural being so interlocking. Many centuries of unrest and strife clearly demonstrate this trait and none more than the conflicting interests of China, Japan and Russia in the Far East, which, it can be truthfully said, is the problem of the whole world.

Mr. Rodomar, our guest-speaker today is well qualified to discuss this great problem. He was educated in the Military Academy at Odessa and served his country in the World War. He fought against the Communists with the White Army and at one time was a member of the Allied Military Intelligence in Moscow. He was later attached to the Foreign Mission which enabled him to travel widely in the Far East and to study intimately the clash of Japanese, Russian and other foreign interests. This study he has continued to pursue while in the employment of corporations which he has represented in the East and the Far East.

Mr. Rodomar is a British subject, now living in Montreal. I have the pleasure to introduce to the members

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of The Empire Club of Canada, their guests and the radio audience, Mr. O. W. Rodomar, who will address us on the subject, "The Conflicting Interests of China, Japan and Russia in the Far East." Mr. Rodomar. (Applause.)

MR. O. W. RODOMAR: Mr. President, Gentlemen: I deeply appreciate the honour accorded to me to address the Empire Club of Canada in Toronto.

When, last summer, the Japanese Government resumed hostilities in China, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Koki Hirota, cynically informed the governments of the world that the intention of Japan at the moment was to capture the six northern provinces, including Inner Mongolia. The governments of Europe were very busy with problems of their own and were left absolutely helpless in this new major development in the Far East. Nevertheless, the President of the United States, some months after the resumption of hostilities, in his Chicago speech aroused the outraged public opinion throughout the world, with the result that we are to understand that a nine-power Conference is being convened in the City of Brussels on October 30th. It is to be hoped that the deliberations of that Assembly will result in something decidedly more tangible than the recent experience we have had in the case of Italy versus Ethiopia. True enough, the President of the United States is ably supported by his Secretary of State and it is now the question of whether or not the United States of America will take an active part in the deliberations in Brussels.

Well, now the question is, what will they deliberate about? No one can forecast the final results of this Conference, but we do know it is the intention of the powers to discuss the ways and means of immediately ending the hostilities in the Far East. It may be that the Japanese will welcome such a suggestion because to all intents and purposes they have already accomplished or almost accomplished what they went after last August. But what about China? Is China to be left to the mercy of the foreign aggressor, China, a defenceless, peace-loving nation. Are

we to understand that Japan is to incorporate the six fertile provinces, without the slightest protest on the part of the powers, or even with their blessing and permission? And, if that be so, what then? What are the Japanese aims, after all? What is Japan intending to do? Will she be satisfied with the six provinces in addition to the state of Manchuokuo? I, for one, do not believe it. I have certain reasons to disbelieve the sincerity, and it is an odd word to use, of the Japanese foreign policy. But, assuming that they are satisfied to retain their present gains, what again, about China? Is China to submit to this conquest of some, I understand, hundred thousand square miles of her territory?

Those are the problems that naturally will be dealt with at the forthcoming Conference at Brussels and the present situation in the Far East puts me very strangely in mind of an obsession the former Emperor of Germany used to have, the obsession which he called "the yellow peril." He went from court to court, from government to government, preaching about the yellow peril. The Kaiser, undoubtedly, did not mean only Japan, but he meant Japan and Japanese-dominated China.

Recently, while delving in the available material on the subject of the Far Eastern situation, certain contemporary historians came across a very interesting conjecture. That conjecture dealt with a programme devised and approved by the Japanese statesmen, forty odd years ago, and having to do with the Japanese expansion upon the mainland of Asia. The succeeding governments of Japan have proved the existence of such a plan, beyond a shadow of doubt, and when you consider, that only last summer, ostensibly fed up of the domination by the military clique, the Emperor of Japan invited a cultured, liberal, well-informed young civilian, Prince Konoye to head the government, upon the advice of the last remaining elder statesman, Prince Saionji, the world breathed a sigh of relief, because, there was no question in the minds of the

Chancellories of Europe but that the advent of the civilian government to power in Japan would bring the moderation of the Japanese foreign policy throughout the Far East and more particularly towards China and Russia.

What do we see? This liberal, cultured civilian gentleman lost no time in throwing his armies in the most unprecedented manner upon defenceless, China. That only goes to prove the existence of the plan I have just referred to, and also, that whether Japan is ruled by a military clique or by a civilian liberal government, her aims are identical.

It is well worth our while to examine this Japanese situation, these Japanese aims, in the light of the last forty odd years and, with your permission, I propose to do so briefly.

Japan made its debut in world affairs in 1896, when she declared war on China. That war was quickly won and the result was, that Japan gained the Island of Formosa, an island almost uninhabitable and certainly not rich in natural resources, and also the southern portion of the Liaoutung Peninsula. Acting in concert, Germany, France and Russia brought pressure to bear upon Japan and made her abandon the profitable part of the spoils, viz. the Liaoutung Peninsula, which was subsequently incorporated by Russia. In other words, Japan was left with nothing more than a great deal of prestige and the Island of Formosa.

Her next venture took place during the Boxer Rebellion. Japan received as a result of her participation certain concessions. The next step was a European Alliance. Incidentally, it was touch and go, whether Japan would ally herself with Russia or with England. Lord Lansdowne won and that alliance was shortly afterward followed by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and '05. This war was also won by Japan, but what did Japan get as a result? Again a great deal of prestige. In fact, she became one of the world's greatest powers, but in point of territory she received the sovereign state of Korea, already over-

populated and not at all rich in natural resources. Russia also conceded her earlier gains of the southern tip of the Liaoutung Peninsula.

In 1914 Japan joined the Allies. As a result of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, she secured the Port of Kiaochau and several insignificant islands, but during the war, Japan saw an opportunity to jump on China and served in 1915 her famous "Twenty-one Points" in a form of an ultimatum. Luckily for China, the Allied Government brought pressure to bear and made Japan withdraw.

Then an excellent opportunity presented itself. The Allied Government's having decided to take a hand against the Bolsheviks, sent troops, ostensibly to guard the Siberian Railway, and while the American Government sent a brigade of infantry, the British a brigade of artillery, etc., Japan sent 80,000 soldiers and immediately occupied all the strategic points in the maritime provinces of Siberia. But once again, she was made to withdraw as a result of the intervention of the U.S.A.

It then appeared to the Japanese statesmen that their European alliances were not very profitable. Japanese population continued to grow and now reached something like 70 million. Something had to be done and when, therefore, in 1928, the second extension of the Japanese Alliance with Great Britain, or rather the third, came up for renewal, it was decided, by a mutual agreement, not to renew it. Japan, in 1928 and 1929, for the first time in many years, felt able to pursue her own way in her own manner, the manner which is known as "fishing in muddy waters" and I must say, that so far, she has done very well. Her first step was to take Manchuria. Her next, having been in the meantime greatly criticized by the League of Nations, was to withdraw from the League, thus allowing herself an absolutely free field of action.

While Japan was slowly annexing these six northern provinces, the United States Government, having departed from its almost traditional stand, recognized Russia in 1933

and I, for one, feel that there was an understanding between the two governments based upon the Far Eastern situation.

Japan has, as I said before, something over 70 million of people. There are two ways in which Japan could help herself. One is to encourage emigration into the less populated areas of the world. What are they? They are the United States of America, the British Dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia, as well as Siberia. Her other alternative is the encouragement of exportation of her manufactured goods. In the first instance, the borders of the countries I have just mentioned, have been closed to her. In the second instance, the exportation of the Japanese manufactured goods has been constantly restricted. Feeling that the right to expand, the right of development has been denied to her, Japan chose the only alternative left to her, namely to attack the weakest link in the chain surrounding her, and inasmuch as the weakest link is China, China has been attacked.

While extending her sphere of influence west, north and south, Japan came to Inner Mongolia and therefore face to face with Russia in Outer Mongolia. The Soviets recognize the danger of the yellow peril, even if the Czar didn't. For a number of years they have taken the steps to fortify their borders with Manchuria, rebuild the fortress of Vladivostok, establish bases throughout Eastern Siberia, move a very formidable army there and establish a powerful air force, able to fly to Japan in a matter of two hours. But Russia, recognizing the danger of the Japanese aggression and the fact that Japanese military strategists feel that the maritime provinces of Siberia are absolutely essential to them, in order that they may maintain their foothold in China proper, is not anxious to fight Japan alone. In the first place, I will say this for the Soviet Government: they are sincerely desirous of peace, but in the face of the Japanese provocation there can be no alternative left to them. And obviously it is easier to fight together with

China than to fight alone. That, undoubtedly, has already occurred to the Soviet leaders. They would perhaps be glad to join forces with China, but what about the alliance Japan signed with Germany last winter? It is a well known fact if Russia attacks Japan, Germany will attack Russia.

That is the position of Russia at the moment. In addition to this, Russia's internal situation leaves much to be desired. There was some improvement evident two years ago. In fact this improvement in the internal situation was first noted with Hitler's advent to power. At the same time Russia made the necessary overtures to France, to resume the defensive alliance they had had prior to the Great War. These overtures were welcomed by France because Hitler is as dangerous to France as he is to Russia. Behind this lay the obvious desire to reestablish not only the defensive alliance between Russia and France, but the old "entente cordiale" including England, in the face of the menace of the two Fascist states, Germany and Italy.

England was more than willing to encourage such possibility but she demanded guarantees. She mistrusted the Soviet Regime and the best way the Soviet government could prove its good intentions to England, was by instituting a series of liberal reforms at home and you gentlemen, in the last two years or so, have no doubt often opened your newspapers to find a new reform calculated to improve social, economic or religious conditions in Russia. That was a matter of daily news.

Then, the obvious reactions set in. Now, the first reaction was unimportant. I will briefly deal with it. It concerned the old Bolsheviks. They naturally opposed these reforms. Here they were, the builders of the only communistic state in the world, and yet that state under the leadership of Stalin was rapidly abandoning the communistic principles and becoming almost a bourgeois country where people could live and enjoy life. Stalin's henchmen were only too glad to gather these gentlemen together and

deal with them according to what in Russia is considered proper. You all know their fate, except this, that they couldn't possibly be accused of being Communists because Russia, to all intents and purposes was still a communistic state, and their claim was that they were Communists, so the Government pinned on them such charges as espionage, sabotage, Trotskyism and so on.

The other reaction was infinitely more important. It concerned the unrest among the people. They were, given better living conditions and they naturally wanted more. In spite of the tremendous suffering they had experienced during the last twenty years there was still a spark of love of freedom, independence of spirit left in them and they mistrusted Stalin. They demanded, as I said, greater reforms, and the quicker the better. Such unwarranted independence of spirit on the part of the Russian people affronted Stalin. It is not a case of what the Russian people wanted, it was rather what Stalin wanted them to have. That is the inevitable way of a dictatorship. He became alarmed at the knowledge that there was still, as I said, a spark of life left in the people; that they still could and did oppose him. The result of this discovery was a complete turn about face. Once more Stalin resorted to terror.

While dealing with the second reaction, it was discovered by the secret police that certain Soviet Generals were involved in a conspiracy with such states as Germany and Japan. Whether this was true or not no one knows. I, for one, will not venture an opinion. But their crime in the eyes of Stalin must have been great enough for him to utterly destroy the best of his generals and reduce the Army from the position of pre-eminence it occupied into a position of secondary importance. That made a profound impression upon the Powers of the World. For instance Japan saw her chance and once more attacked China. France and England ceased to count Russia as an ally worth having. The Soviet Government, fearing that its position

in Europe may soon become untenable, has been doing everything in its power, not even hesitating at such old tricks as deliberate provocation, to hold its so recently acquired friendship in Europe.

The letter of Chamberlain to Mussolini didn't help the possibility of a rapprochement between Italy and England on the one hand and England and Germany on the other. Such a move had to include France. The Bolsheviks in turn, were prepared no matter at what cost to stick with France and England, in the face of the menace from Germany and Japan. They are still doing everything possible to improve their relations with France and England but I, for one do not feel that the Bolsheviks have anything to fear.

Let us analyse this further. Supposing Japan wins the war in the Far East. That means that the foreign investments of various nations will be driven out, just as they already have been driven out from Manchuria, although Japan in conquering Manchuria announced that the principle of the "open door" would be maintained. It is no longer maintained. The foreign devils, as the Japanese call Europeans, will be driven out because Japan will not be content with the subjugation of only six provinces, she will want the whole of China. Will it be in the interests of France and England and of the United States of America to have Japan drive them out of China, or in the face of such a possibility, will they guarantee to Russia her borders against Germany, in which case Russia will be free to follow her plans in the Far East?

That is the position. Everyone knows, and Hitler certainly makes no secret of his plans, that he wants the Ukraine and the Baltic States. Recently, during the state visit of Mussolini to Hitler, one of the things that was being discussed was the formation of the Four-Power Pact, consisting of France, England, Italy and Germany directed against Russia. So far Hitler has succeeded in impressing only Mussolini, but supposing, that such a bloc will become

a reality and Hitler will then undoubtedly attack Russia. Do not make a mistake, gentlemen. He does not want old German colonies back. All the talk about colonies is to maintain his claim to more territory. That territory is the Ukraine and the Baltic States. Supposing such possibility takes place. Supposing Germany is enriched by the possession of the Ukraine and the Baltic States, what will happen? Do you think that France and England will welcome a neighbour with 150 million people, a warlike nation, constantly in belligerent mood, and a country absolutely self-sufficient, because the Ukraine means twenty of the richest provinces of Russia with 40 million people. I hardly think that France and England will welcome such a contingency, even though they may obtain respite from war. There is the whole crux of the matter: on the one hand the possibility that the victorious Japan will drive them out of China and on the other the presence of the most powerful neighbour with a mission to dominate the world.

Gentlemen, that is the situation in the Far East today. One cannot begin to discuss any political problem no matter how remote the country without involving all of the major European and Asiatic nations. May I close with a fervent hope that the forthcoming conference in Brussels will deal with the subject of the Japanese ultimate ambitions in the Far East justly and fairly. Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT HARCOURT: Mr. Rodomar, we are indeed very grateful to you for this most interesting and instructive address. We leave here today with a greater and a clearer knowledge of this world problem and our prayer is, may it soon be solved.

On behalf of The Empire Club of Canada and your radio audience, I offer you our sincere thanks.

(Applause.)

CHINA TODAY

AN ADDRESS BY REV. P. LINDEL TZEN, M.A. D.D.,
BISHOP OF HONAN, CHINA.

Thursday, October 28th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, from our boyhood China has been to us a fascinating and wondrous country. The history of China was learned from the stories we read in the Boys' Own Annual, Chums, and Henty. How surprised we were to find that many of the modern appliances of science in use in those days, and as a matter of fact in use today, came from the inventive mind of the Chinese and had been in use for many centuries by them before the Christian era. The expression "nothing new under the sun" is certainly true of China. As we grew older our interest was further aroused by reason of the fact that many of our acquaintances and friends journeyed to China as missionaries, teachers and professors and we learned of a new China, a more intimate China. Today, that great country takes on a different picture. It is one of the actors in the clash of two civilizations, the outcome of which will be world-wide in its effect.

Our guest-speaker comes from that great province in China, Honan, by area, I believe, less than Ontario, by population many times that of the Dominion of Canada. That is another question. Honan is well known to Canadians as in that Province are many of our citizens. Bishop Tsen is the first and only Chinese Diocesan Bishop of the Anglican Church in China. He has been honoured by many universities throughout the world and we are pleased to hear his great work has lately been acknowledged by one of our own Canadian Universities. Today he honours us by his presence. I have the pleasure to introduce to

the Empire Club of Canada, Bishop P. Lindel Tsen, or as he is affectionately known throughout his own country, "Lindel Tsen." His subject is "China Today."

(Applause.)

RT. REV. LINDEL TSEN, M.A., D.D.: Mr. President and Gentlemen: As I walked into this great palatial hotel with my friend Bishop White and the President of your meeting today, one of the first gentlemen whom I met greeted me with the assurance that we have a most lively subject. I agreed with him. I did not dare disappoint him so early and to say while the subject is most lively, you are unfortunate in that you have a speaker who is almost half dead. And the country that is represented by the subject, if she is not half dead she is not far from there.

Now, in speaking on China today one has to say a few words of China yesterday. China has a very long history but we cannot take up the time to go through all the long period of her history at this meeting. However, China began her national life with a philosophy which is really her national aspiration. An aspiration full of moral character and it is that moral philosophy of China's national aspiration that has sustained her life all through the past period of almost thirty odd centuries.

May I be permitted to quote just one short statement from one of the classics of China, written by a disciple of the grandson of Confucius, in the book of ?? in which he says: Cheng Hien, Cheng Yi, Hsiu Shen, Chi Chia, Chih Kuo, Ping Tien Hsia. These few Chinese characters put together as one statement summarizes the whole moral teaching of Chinese philosophy of life, either life of individuals or life of nations.

I suppose to give you the text in the original language may sound even worse than Latin or Greek to some of you, although I am fully aware that I am in the company of great scholars, scholars in languages which are living, scholars in languages which are past. However, just for the convenience of some of you I am trying to give as best I can with my very limited vocabulary of your language,

the English equivalent, which means this: Cheng Hein—an upright heart. There a life begins, whether as an individual or as a race or as a nation. You begin from the heart which is really the center of your ego. China at the very early period of her history did not learn to speak the religious language of our day. Instead of saying the soul or the spirit, she speaks of that central core of life, the heart, the seat of all your moral construction if you are a living being or a nation at all.

But it is not enough to have only an upright heart, to be only a moral being. You want that to be followed and harmonized with another quality—Cheng Yi—which means an honest mind, and a live individual co-operates with the center of a moral power, harmonized with that great courage an attitude that we called in our days science, a scientific attitude, a scientific courage to face the universe, to seek to explain the cosmic mystery with an entire intellectual honesty. Never be afraid to face issues or questions, face the truth steadily and comprehend it. So, therefore, we have a second quality for life, an honest mind. Honest and moral you may be in your heart and mind but you either as an individual or as a nation have to live your life through some form of embodiment, especially the physical body of a human being or a nation, so it follows with the third quality of "Hsiu Shen," which means a cultured body. But bodies do not live in entire isolation but can only come to be the instrument for the mind and the heart to exercise, to express themselves when that body is placed in right relationship with other bodies. The place where we as individuals begin to form our contacts with other individuals is the place of the home or the family. So we come to the fourth quality, "Chi Chia," which means an orderly family. Where you have a family with your great grandparents and your parents and children, a family in China, will live together under the same roof, four or even five generations. Where the bodies of those individuals are living under a common roof you have a home and you must have that home organized on some

sort of reasonable and moral order. Therefore, we have the culture of the human bodies as the right kind of instrument with which your moral and intellectual life grows and exercises itself. We have an orderly family and only by groups of families you come to have a larger family which is your nation.

Therefore, it follows with a further quality of "Chih Kuo," which means a disciplined nation. When you have families as units in your community, in the whole community of the nations and have anything short of a communal recognized discipline you will not be able to have a nation. You may have a mass of people. You may have groups of individuals living always in conflict with the several group or individual interests. When your nation is built upon a discipline that governs and seeks to see the welfare of all concerned, then that nation will be a member of a world of nations and that nation will be able to be such a contributive and useful nation to the creation of the last quality, which is "Ping Tien Hsia"—a peaceful world.

Now, I have already given you the sauce of my quotation. It is still there. I am glad to know that the Chinese library of the Ontario Museum will soon be opened and I wish you would take time when you have your leisure to look into some of the pages of the Chinese ancient classics and you will find that it is not simply a statement of some past thinking but it is still the living and the guiding philosophy for China as a nation and for the Chinese as individual human beings. (Applause.)

China with that as her philosophy in her past history it seems to me has to fulfill her obligations in the way of a sharing what was possible to her in the achievement of a particular type of civilization with the nations immediate to her and around her, making her family of nations.

I do not need to give you more illustrations or incidences than mentioning just one epoch in the history of China and that is the Tang Dynasty, about some thirteen

centuries ago when the national capital of the Chinese Empire was in the northwestern province which goes by the name, Kshensi. The national capital is today the provincial capital of that province which is Sian, and I think the city of Sian has been made more widely known since the most unfortunate, in the way very mysterious event in the fact that our Generalissimo was taken a prisoner a little over a year ago in that very city.

Now, at the time of the Tang Dynasty that capital of the Chinese Empire was the meeting ground of international friendship and fellowship. You found in that city, as the center of the Empire and as its central meeting place of all the nations known to one another, especially on the Continent of Asia, people from India, people from Persia, people from Turkey, people from Arabia, and people from Palestine and people from Korea and people from Japan. They met there as friends, exchanging their different experiences in all walks of life. They met there as teachers, as missionaries—missionaries of the first Christian branch of the Church that undertook missionary work in China, as the Nestorian missionaries, missionaries of the religion of Buddah from China, and missionaries also of the religion of that great man, Mahommed. There they lived always in harmony, always in friendship, to such an extent that missionaries of entirely different religions, such as the Christian religion represented by the Nestorians, and the Buddhist religion, represented by the Hindus were there, each doing their own part as missionaries of their own religious faith, yet so friendly as to co-operate in the translation of their religious scriptures into the Chinese language.

You could see for yourselves what an atmosphere of truly international friendship, co-operation and fellowship was in that old Chinese Empire, especially in the center of her national life in the City of Sian, where it was made possible for peoples of different races, peoples of different religions, peoples of different interests, to meet and live together in such perfect harmony.

It was at that time or not much later that our nearest neighbours from the Island of Japan began to come to the mainland and began to acquire what was then known as human culture, as civilization and with that as a start we always had to see that our nearest neighbour, Japan, has been able to develop herself into one of the most advanced nations of our present world.

Now, whether that philosophy was still a little advanced of the time of the world as we know it today is a question. China, however, has her deep, unshakable conviction in the truth and in the practicability of that philosophy of hers which has really guided her as a nation, which has really governed the relationship of her people within the nation.

So much now for the past. She soon after came to find that her philosophy was too idealistic—either untrue or too good—and about six hundred years ago she came to face another neighbour on the north of her country, the Mongolians who came and helped themselves in such a way as to rule China, which constituted another different epoch-making period in the Chinese history which has come to be known as the Yuan Dynasty. China was then in a most critical moment of her national life. Those nomadic figures, the people from Mongolia would in some measure in some time sweep off all that had been achieved through the past centuries as a civilization with its own philosophy, its own art, and its own inventions for the happiness of human living. Fortunately enough, for many reasons, the conquerors somehow or other, after they have conquered China, became such admirers of the Chinese civilization that it did not take them long to become Chinese themselves. (Applause.) So the Yuan Dynasty shortlived its life and we came to a pure and simple Chinese Dynasty which we called the Ming Dynasty. But, somehow or other this early philosophy again was confronted with practical problems, whether after all that philosophy was too much of a dream, too much of an ideal

that would never be able to apply to relations of such a scope as to people living together in harmony.

So, shortly after the Ming Dynasty came what was called the Ching Dynasty, or the Manchurian Dynasty, when our neighbours on the northeast of China came in again and took hold of China as the ruling house for almost three centuries and a half and yet during that period of 360 years, she again as a conqueror became one of the conquered in thinking, in living.

Some twenty-five years ago there ended that Ching Dynasty or Manchurian Dynasty and the beginning of a new regime which has become known as the Republic of China. The Republic of China is not a China of the old Chinese people. It is a republic of China for all the peoples who have already become Chinese themselves. So, that Republic at the beginning adopted a national flag of five stripes which has been called by English-speaking people, "the rainbow flag." It was a rainbow because it disappeared after a very short time and yet the colours of the stripes represented in that flag really had fundamental teaching for the different peoples to remember that after all, having been in the land for so many centuries, that they really had adopted China as their home and they have also been adopted by China as China's own children. The different stripes represented the different races. For convenience at present, because of the lack of a better word, the five races are the Chinese, the Manchurians, the Mongolians, the Mahommendans and the Tibetans. Although they have all these historical names in their present day life and entire relationship in the country they are not independent, separated groups by themselves, but they are people of the same nation, members of the same national family.

However, this old Chinese philosophy again seems to have found practical problems that her philosophy does not seem to offer any solution for. So today you find in China almost a miniature of the whole situation of our present world itself, a China where you find that the hu-

man beings seem to be willing and glad to give up all that makes for the first quality of Chinese philosophy, an upright heart, and then to give up what is most essential for any living at all, an honest mind. They just close their eyes—afraid to face facts—to dream that there have never been international treaties, and that such treaties are to seek the welfare of all concerned. They will just tear all that has been taught, all that has been kept, all that has been observed by China as a nation or by the Chinese as people.

So, to speak of China today, you need not go very far away, actually to the field of China. You see the situation, that China as a nation is now forced to be in. The Chinese as people are forced to go through a situation that has obtained almost everywhere under perhaps slightly different forms. However, there are things perhaps unique at present in China, that are not found elsewhere and that is especially in China's relation to her nearest neighbour. In China, especially during the last three decades, the corporate mind of the nation has been fully aware of the actual objective world situation, the international situation around them and she has also been deeply aware of her own position and so she has acquiesced, step by step, in the hope that having acquiesced so much, perhaps some of the nations who have called themselves friends and neighbours may be satisfied to give a little chance for China to try that experiment of her ancient and yet living philosophy which I have just quoted to you.

Well, we will not go much earlier in our modern history and I think we can safely say that during the last two decades most of China's neighbours as nations, the nations in Europe and the nations on this North American Continent have really tried to agree with China in the truth of her own philosophy and also shared that truth, not only in their own relationship with other nations but also particularly in their relationship with China, so for the last two decades China has been able to get sympathy and co-operation from many nations, to make some pro-

gress, to modernize her physical condition and perhaps even to modernize her ancient philosophy. To modernize does not mean to change it, to take something else as its substitute. It is only to incorporate the practicability of that unchanging philosophy and put that in actual operation in her relation with all her neighbours in the family of nations, but one of the nearest neighbours—we have a few such very close-by neighbours—on the north we have Soviet Russia, on the east we have the Empire of Japan, and this Japanese neighbour of ours seems to think that there will be really no chance if she should delay much longer to allow China to practice her national philosophy in relationship to all nations. She thought if she could have a better foothold, if she could have a larger scope of control of all kinds she might help China to put that philosophy into action and that a world-wide Empire some day will come to reality through the instrument of her international and military powers.

Therefore, she came once and she came twice and now she is coming the third time, wanting to finish, that the third arrival of her representatives should be the last arrival, that there should be no need to have her people and government to be bothered or burdened with any responsibility of sending troops or planes or warships into China again, for China will then just become part of the Japanese Empire.

With all that wonderful aspiration on the part of our Japanese neighbour I am afraid that she will eventually find out her mistake to her great damage (Applause) to her own people as a nation, much greater than she can imagine that she is doing to China and the Chinese people.

China doesn't want to create a world empire. The old philosophy, as I have just stated, is still the philosophy that China is going to live by in her international relationship and she hopes with the sympathetic co-operation of all her neighbours she will some day play her part in her modern world as she did in her ancient world, sharing what she may be able to achieve, contributing that achievement

toward the great creation of a world-wide civilization which will really mean the welfare of all nations and all peoples. (Applause.)

Now, I think whatever concerns China cannot but concern every part of our present world and we must see that China be given that opportunity, be given that strength so she can develop herself, not to the detriment of any race or any nation but as her humble contribution, as our ideals that have come down from the great sages and saints and prophets in the past of all peoples and nations, that we may some day find a real reality in this world of our mutual life.

Therefore, I shall just leave with you my last word, that for the sake of the world today and for the sake of the world in the future, China must be preserved. China must be allowed and supported to live her own life as a nation in the family of nations and domination of any nation in China will be the cause of international confusion and conflict. Any scheme of division of China to wipe out from the face of our earth the reality of a Chinese nation again will be the cause for endless periods of international strife, turmoil and war which will lead, perhaps, ultimately to the destruction of all civilizations that we know today.

Therefore, for China's sake, for the sake of the world including our nearest and most ambitious neighbour, the people of Japan, let us, Gentlemen, do what we can as individuals, as members of our respective nations and through our international social agencies as well as through our international diplomatic agencies, let us one and all do our very best for the sake of the world today and tomorrow.

Therefore, I plead that both China and Japan must be saved, not to be allowed to bring about their mutual destruction which will mean the destruction to the whole world as a civilization.

I want to thank you very much for this great privilege of being invited to speak to you in such a broken English.

If you had allowed me to speak in Chinese I might appear as a real public speaker with some sort of experience.

(Applause—prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Bishop Tsen, if you are nearly dead, I am embalmed. The attentive interest shown by your audience expresses their thanks, their thanks to you for this highly interesting and instructive address. China today is nearer to us. In adding my sincere thanks and the thanks of the radio audience, may we wish you a safe return to your native land and may you return to us in happier times.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

WHAT NEXT IN IRELAND?

AN ADDRESS BY DR. E. J. TARR, K.C.

Thursday, November 4th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: The Empire Club of Canada welcomes as its guests, members of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. This Institute was formed as a national organization early in January of 1928 and a meeting was held at the home of the late Sir Robert Borden in Ottawa. The purpose of the Institute was to make an unofficial study of international questions and problems so as to form an enlightened public opinion among our Canadian people. The Canadian Institute functions as a branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs of London, England. It is interesting to Canadians to know that through the generosity of the late Colonel R. W. Leonard of St. Catharines, the Institute came into possession of their present headquarters in London—Chatham House. All will admit it is a fitting place for their deliberations since it was the residence for years of the elder Pitt and many subsequent Prime Ministers of Great Britain. Since the foundation of the Institute in Canada such distinguished men as the late Sir Robert Borden, the present Chief Justice of Ontario, Honourable Newton W. Rowell, and Dr. J. W. Dafoe, of Winnipeg, have occupied the Presidency. Quite recently our guest-speaker for today succeeded Dr. Dafoe. Dr. Tarr has been associated with the Canadian Institute since its inception and has justly earned this high honour. To radio audiences he is well known as a member of the Kelcey Club of Winnipeg. When Dr. Tarr consented to speak to our Club, I asked him for his subject. He replied—What next in Ireland—with a large question mark. The printer perhaps being Irish, left off the

question mark, but for Ireland it was probably unnecessary.

I have much pleasure in introducing to you, E. J. Tarr, K.C., LL.D., of Winnipeg. His subject is, "What next in Ireland?" Dr. Tarr. (Applause.)

DR. E. J. TARR: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have no doubt that you are quite surprised at the subject that I chose. There are so many matters that press upon our attention today. The crisis in the Far East, with its implications for us; the situation in Spain, a near farcical non-intervention Committee; the critical situation that Great Britain faces in Palestine; the whole question of Germany and the threat to world peace and the matter of British foreign policy which is crying out for constructive criticism.

Yet, while the choice of any of those subjects would perhaps have seemed perfectly natural, I, without any Irish blood in me, in a typical Irish way chose, "What next in Ireland?" for the simple reason that I don't think you are particularly interested in it. But the truth is that the pressing nature and the immediacy of all these other problems have more or less forced Ireland out of the spotlight, and I think the situation there and the problem which Britain faces there is not perhaps receiving the attention and consideration which its importance deserves. I think it is fair to say that English opinion today, both official and non-official, recognizes that for the most part and, in fact, almost invariably, Britain has been wrong in its treatment in Ireland and when right, has been right too late to be effective. Recognizing that, England today feels that it really can't take the initiative in trying to solve the problem. It is baffled and puzzled because of the historical background and feels it will be quite natural for the Irish people to expect ulterior motives if the initiative came from England's side.

I haven't time to set up anything accurate in the way of historical background. Let me just remind you of a few more recent facts. In 1914, not long before the War,

the Home Rule Bill was passed. Ulster, of course, decided to resist by force of arms. The result was the Ulster Volunteer Forces were organized and as a reply to this the National Volunteer Forces were formed in the south of Ireland: The situation was ominous. Then the war broke out. Adjustment was made, postponing the coming into force of the Home Rule Bill until after the termination of hostilities. A large proportion of the National Volunteers entered the Army to go to the Continent. Things went fairly well until 1916 when an attempt was made to enforce conscription throughout Ireland. This meant resistance and the movement of Republicanism swept the country with the result by 1918 there was established what was perhaps, not technically, but to a large extent in fact, a government which operated along side the official government. Many of the taxes were voluntarily paid to this Republican Government and in fact it carried on a number of the ordinary government activities. The situation, of course, was impossible, and after the conclusion of the war the decision was made by Britain to try and rectify the situation by force. Then followed that period known as the "Black and Tan" period, when a state of war practically existed as between Great Britain and Southern Ireland. This is a period of which neither party has much reason to be proud. English public opinion rather weakened and would not stand for the extension of hostilities on any large scale with the result that because of the fact there was a substantial element in Ireland also anxious to arrive at a settlement, negotiations were carried on and the Treaty of 1921 became effective. While De Valera had agreed to the appointment of negotiators, he himself was not one of those negotiators. After the Treaty was concluded, under his inspiration two of the negotiators joined with him in repudiating the treaty, and they started the movement which resulted in the Civil War following the period, with Mulaney and Griffith, Cosgrave and Mulcahay, leading the government party and De Valera being the moving spirit in the

rebel party. A terrible period followed which left its legacy of hate with which one soon comes in contact in visiting the Free State today.

After order was restored De Valera continued his attitude of non-recognition of the Treaty, and refused to take part in the political life of the country or to run for election. He was forced to abandon that position by the lapse of time, and contested the later election and in 1932 was returned to power and Cosgrave, the former President, stepped out. Almost immediately after, he did what he had said he would do, namely repudiated the liability of the Irish Free State to pay the land annuities. These annuities, as you know, were in effect bonds that had been sold, the proceeds of which were used for the purchase of landed estates and resales were made to the tenants. They were direct government obligations. Under the Treaty Ireland was to assume none of the government debt. The Irish Government, however, looked upon these land annuities as something apart from the regular government debt, and assumed responsibility for them and paid them because the income from the purchases of the land was, of course, going to the Irish Government.

Now, there is nothing to be said, I think, for the moral position of De Valera and the repudiation of the land annuities. A case of some force, but not a very convincing one, can be made for the legal position, and it may be the weakness of the legal case had something to do with the refusal of Great Britain to refer the matter to arbitration. In any event, the repudiation of land annuities by De Valera was immediately followed by the British Government putting on duties against Irish products—cattle, bacon and dairy products being principally affected.

In 1937, there was an election on the first of July when De Valera went to the country and returned with exactly one-half of the members—sixty-nine. On the appointment of a Speaker this left him a voting minority of one. He therefore became dependent upon the Labour Group.

Cosgrave about held his own, strengthened slightly by the Labour Party which threatened his position substantially. The leader of the Labour Party is a violent, out-and-out Republican. His name is Norton, so De Valera was more or less dependent upon the Labour Group for continuing in office.

I arrived in Dublin just a few days after the election and there were still evidences of Irish wit, and various slogans still about the place. I remember, there was a candidate by the name of Ryan running in one of the Dublin consituencies. He was an extreme Leftist and in any country other than a Roman Catholic country he would have been called a Communist. There were big signs surrounding the constituency—traffic signs on the road—"Keep to the Left." Some supporters of his had gone out with a pot of white paint and had added the words, "Keep to the Left by Voting for Ryan."

There was another poster that I noticed. It was simply this, "Vote Finnegan" (?) He was the Cosgrave party candidate. De Valera's party had added on a lot of posters, "And thus Offend Ireland's Dead."

Mulcahay, a representative in one of the constituencies had gone to great expense painting a tremendous sign on the long stone wall, "Vote 1 for Mulcahay." His opponent had put two strokes on the 1, making it, "Vote 4 for Mulcahay."

De Valera's people had a slogan with the simple phrase, "Keep up the Work." The Labour people were also, of course, pressing for higher wages and added to a lot of posters the words, "And pay the Workmen."

However, there was a splendid good spirit, apparently, and every person took the changes in very good part. The issues in the election are hard to define. The Constitution was one. It was voted on at the time of the election and carried by a substantial, but not an overwhelming majority, and comes into force at the end of this year. The Constitution is a most peculiar document. It makes no men-

tion of the Crown, whatever. The President, under the new Constitution has functions much the same as our Governor-General. He doesn't derive in any way from the Crown but direct from the people. On the other hand, the word, "Republic" is not used in the Constitution, it is not mentioned in any place. There is a study, an attempt to make the Constitution appear to be something in the way of a religious document, to constitute the Irish Free State as a Christian State. There is a clause in recognition of the fact that the vast majority of the people of Ireland belong to the Roman Catholic Church, that the special position of that Church in Ireland is recognized, but it then goes on to name the various Protestant denominations, to say they are also recognized. It goes on further to restrict the government from giving any endowments to religious institutions. It provides for non-discrimination in matters of education as between the Protestants and the Catholics, and after stating that the special position of the Catholic Church is to be recognized, it very carefully makes it impossible to recognize any special position of that church in the State. Many Catholics were exceedingly annoyed and felt there was an element of deception in that part of the Constitution. And, I would say that it was, to a considerable extent an issue, but not nearly to the extent that was anticipated, and that really arises out of the Abdication crisis, a most unexpected development, so far as Mr. De Valera was concerned. There is no doubt, I think, that it had been his intention to go up and down the country, representing the Constitution to the people as constituting their Republic, the complete elimination of the Crown, but when the Abdication crisis came in December, he was faced with a very embarrassing situation. There was no way in which Ireland could carry on international dealings except by Ireland's King. The representatives of Ireland in the various capitals were there as the representatives of Ireland's King, consequently it was necessary for him to pass an Act, called the External Relations Act, under which

it was provided, so long as Ireland associated with the British Government group of nations it shall in international dealings carry on in the name of the King, on the advice of the Irish Parliament. Consequently, when it came to the election, Mr. De Valera could not present the Constitution, in effect establishing an Irish Republic because there was too easy a come-back, in that he had become the only Irish President who had ever passed legislation which had recognized the King.

I think that there was really relief on the part of many moderate people that the Constitution passed. I know a number of those I talked to, though not really in favour of the Constitution, voted for it because they feared what might take place in Ireland if it had been defeated. It was opposed on the platform chiefly on two grounds. One was that it really made possible a dictatorship under the new President. The other, it lowered the position of women in the state. The reading of the Constitution shows both of the objections quite unreal and not justified. Yet, it is significant there was no general opposition to the Constitution, on the part of those opposed to it, on the grounds it did constitute an unnecessary slap at the Crown and at Great Britain.

In other words, it doesn't seem to be politically expedient in Ireland for a politician to represent himself as being as co-operative in spirit as he is in fact.

Now, in addition to the Constitution the whole question of the British connection took some slight, but not important, part in the election. The major parties really didn't discuss it much at all; some of the labour candidate center around the well-known facts—to which they are so violently opposed—the occupation of Port Cork as a British naval base, and the definition of Irish status being that of Dominion status. This is really keenly felt by the Irish people from the left to the right. They look upon Ireland as being a mother country in the same sense that England and Scotland are mother countries, and feel rather

hurt that their status should be defined in Dominion terms.

The real issue on the part of the more thoughtful candidates was, of course, the economic issue. The result of the economic war has really been quite disastrous for the Irish Free State. Prices on many commodities have gone up tremendously; even commodities produced at home, such as bacon, could be purchased considerably cheaper in London than in Dublin. So it is with butter. This really meant a subsidizing of the exports at the expense of the home consumer. Then, again, the artificial dressing for industrial development means articles of ordinary consumption are costing more, while the products of the farm, and of course Ireland is essentially agricultural, are bringing less money than they otherwise would.

You may wonder how, under the circumstances, De Valera did as well as he did in the last election. It seems the answer is, during the period of the economic war from 1933 to 1937, the price level of Ireland's exports—cattle, bacon and dairy products, has been steadily going up, consequently, the situation is not as bad as it was in 1933 and De Valera apparent has been able to deceive the people, to a considerable extent, as to the effect of the economic struggle, because their position is getting better. Many of them feel that De Valera is winning the battle for them.

Of course, personality plays a tremendous part in the Irish situation. De Valera himself, is a most intriguing person. Perhaps I might give you the estimates of two or three or four of his political opponents with whom I spoke. One of them for instance, said, "De Valera is like Gladstone, he is intensely religious, completely universal, supremely confident that he is right and frequently wrong." The next man I saw, also a political opponent, said, "He is so crooked he could hide behind a cork screw." Now, another gentleman, a devout Catholic, said, "De Valera is intensely Catholic, so long as it suits his political purposes." Another, again a political opponent said, "De Valera is the outstanding personality in Ireland today, by far the ablest

and most astute politician and in many ways a constructive force." And that from a political opponent.

So, you have a wide variety of views. I would say, generally speaking, the inner ring of his opponents don't trust him. They think he is an opportunist of the worst order. This, perhaps, isn't surprising because it is not very long since they were literally trying to kill each other. As you get further away from the front rank of opposition, one feels, even among political opponents, here is a considerable element of pride in De Valera, and many are rather proud of him as a great Irishman. Among his political supporters I think I am right in saying a number of those very closely associated with him rather feel he is something of a dictator, that his government is a one-man government, and that he does not recognize the ability of his colleagues as being as great as it is in fact. But his position is not in the least threatened because unquestionably he is outstandingly the most able and astute of the Irish leaders.

Cosgrave is a man with whom I was very favourably impressed. I spent an afternoon with him in his home, a few miles from Dublin. He impressed me as being a most sincere person, able, not outstandingly brilliant, kindly—I think one could trust him without any hesitation. His attitude toward the whole British problem is one of a keen desire for friendly co-operation. He has not, however, that outstanding personality that De Valera has and would not in any sense have the same ability of swaying the mob.

In General Mulcahy, I found another interesting person. He was a former member of the Cosgrave Government. During the War he was Chief-of-Staff, and notwithstanding the fact that the English had a price of £5,000 on his head for nearly two years he has retained no bitterness and again is striving for a mutually satisfactory adjustment.

Senator Gogarty is another rather dynamic personality—a leading surgeon in Dublin. He is a rather brilliant author and no doubt many of you have read his latest book, "As I was Going Down Sackville Street." Recognized as one of

Ireland's wits, he arose in the Senate a couple of years ago to make a violent attack upon the De Valera Ministry. Just as he arose the Minister leaped from his seat to leave the House and the Senator said, "Mr. Chairman, I am sorry the Minister is leaving. I have some pearls I wish to place before him."

I would say that in connection with the attitude toward Great Britain and the Commonwealth generally, the Irish people in the Free State may be roughly divided into four groups. The first group consists of those who are out and out Republicans and are determined to cut all connections with Great Britain. The second group consists of those that are dominated only by a desire to serve Ireland's interests, but who recognize that the underlying fundamental objectives of external policy, namely national security and economic welfare, can only be achieved by exceedingly close economic co-operation and some kind of political association with Great Britain; but because of an underlying dislike or the historical background the members are determined, if they possibly can, to have the joy of slapping England in the face in the working out of the settlement. The third group consists of those whose objectives are much the same as those in the second group but who have no desire whatever to embarrass England in working out a settlement and are quite willing to have and desire a mutually satisfactory arrangement. The fourth group consists of those who still retain in their minds Commonwealth solidarity as an end in itself, rather than as a means of serving Irish interests.

From my observations, I would say the groups on either side, groups one and four, constitute a small minority of opinion in the Irish Free State and that the vast majority of the people belong in groups two and three. While De Valera and most of his followers call themselves Republicans, I am confident they really belong in group two, and are really anxious to work out some settlement in Ireland's interest, not for any larger purpose. Cosgrave

and most of his followers unquestionably fall in group three.

There is a definite danger in the situation which exists now. Because of De Valera's dependence on the support of Norton it is not likely steps will be taken toward completion of a settlement at an early date. In the meantime I am rather afraid there may be a drift to the left. For one thing, as I said before, politicians do not express themselves frankly in public as being as much in favour of co-operation as they really are. Another thing is that so far as political strategy is concerned, I am afraid there will be a tendency on the part of Cosgrave and his leaders to try and steal voting strength from de Valera's right, with the idea that Cosgrave himself cannot lose any strength from his right because there is no place for those voters to go.

I put that up to Mr. Cosgrave as a danger. He says, "No, it is not a proper estimate of the situation," but I talked it over with Cosgrave's supporters and several of them admitted to me they thought there was real danger of that movement taking place.

I left Ireland with the impression, surprising as it may seem, that it would have been better, in the interests of Great Britain and the Commonwealth, and Ireland itself, if De Valera had had a comfortable working majority as the result of the last election. My reason for saying that is this: If he had a working majority he would be able to work out his own policy and not be dependent upon any other group or party. If he had that there would be no substantial body of opinion to the left of him which would repudiate any settlement that he arrived at. What I would be afraid of is, if Cosgrave comes in and develops a new treaty with Great Britain, there is a definite rising of the left sections of opinion—that is, left of Cosgrave, which would include De Valera, again repudiating that and following the procedure after the 1921 treaty, creating great

confusion and lack of stability. I think that view is shared to a considerable extent in England itself.

However, that didn't happen and we are faced with a position which almost surely is going to mean continued delay because initiative can't be taken by England and De Valera is in the position of being dependent upon Norton, the leader of the Labour Party, who is a violent Republican. I don't want to assume that all labour leaders are violent Republicans. I discussed the question with a man who is one of the ablest leaders of the Labour Party, Senator Johnston, and he told me he didn't think in the rank and file of the labour movement in the Commonwealth it was a question at all, that their interests are primarily economic. One thing is abundantly clear, all political leaders admitted that there could be no reverse to the Treaty of 1921. Many Irishmen would be quite content to do that but all were united in acknowledging that is a political impossibility and the settlement when it comes will have to be something in the way of a new Treaty. I think we may assume the union of the north and south of Ireland in our time will not be achieved. I don't think in itself it would make a settlement possible. I think there would probably have to be an entire restatement of the situation so far as naval ports are concerned, so as to change the psychology of that arrangement, making one where Britain is providing naval defence for Ireland, rather than getting privileges from Ireland, and in the economic realm there is a boundless field for the closest possible and mutually advantageous co-operation between the two countries.

Now, I have asked the question, "What next in Ireland?" and frankly I can't answer it. The situation is quite serious. There is no question it is a threat to the security of Great Britain. All I can say, Mr. Chairman, is if we want to make any contribution to the solution of the problem, it behooves us to try to gain sympathetic understanding of the aspirations of the Irish people, to recognize the long centuries of progress for which our ancestors were respon-

sible and to try to develop an attitude in Canada which will make the Irish people feel that they want to continue to be associated with us as a nation in a British group.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Dr. Tarr, in addressing us today you have fulfilled an added duty to the people of Canada and in thanking you most sincerely on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada and the radio audience, may I wish you and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs continued success.

The members of the Empire Club will please notice that owing to next Thursday being Armistice Day, our regular meeting will be held on Tuesday.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY SIR EVELYN WRENCH, C.M.G., LL.D.

Tuesday, November 9th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Our Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: I deem it a great honour to rise on behalf of The Empire Club of Canada and welcome our distinguished guests of today, Sir Evelyn and Lady Wrench. We always welcome members of those two organizations of which Sir Evelyn is the founder, the Overseas League and the English-Speaking Union. We also welcome on his first of many visits, I hope, to this Club, Mr. Hengstler, the recently appointed United States Consul General.

Sir Evelyn is perhaps the most travelled and introduced man in the British Empire. For the past twenty-five years he has travelled into the four corners of the earth. What a wealth of experience he has gained! As a youth the ideal of knitting closer together what we now term the British Commonwealth of Nations and the promotion of a better understanding among nations began to take shape in his mind and heart and ever since then he has steadfastly followed its gleam for the betterment of mankind and the promotion of peace. His personal character, the sincerity of his purpose and his devotion to this ideal have found a ready response among all with whom he has come in contact. Truly he has made the creed of the Overseas League and the motto of the English-Speaking Union his own in word and deed. The creed of the Overseas League is, "Believing the British Empire to stand for justice, freedom, order and good government, we pledge ourselves as citizens of the British Commonwealth of Nations to maintain the heritage handed down to us by our fathers," and the motto of the English-Speaking Union is, "To draw to-

gether in the bond of comradeship the English-Speaking peoples of the world." To these principles he has been loyal.

I have great pleasure in calling upon Sir Evelyn Wrench, C.M.G., LL.D., our guest-speaker whose subject is, "Canada and a United Empire." Sir Evelyn. (Applause.)

SIR EVELYN WRENCH, C.M.G., LL.D.: Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Consul-General, Members of the Empire Club of Toronto, Members of the English-Speaking Union and of the Overseas League: It is a very great pleasure to be back in the Queen City of Ontario. This is my sixth visit to Canada. I have four times crossed your great Continent, as far north as Prince Rupert and I have spent, I think altogether about a year of my life travelling in your wonderful Dominion. One of the things that made me happiest today as I came into the reception room was to see my old friend, Dr. Robert H. Noble here today, because I owe him my life. I was very ill, with a temperature of 105 in the year 1908 and he put me to bed in Grace Hospital. I spent eight weeks there and another three weeks in Hillcrest Convalescent Home. And here I am. I am not really quite sure whether he feels he did a good job or not. At any rate, that makes me feel absolutely at home here in Toronto, as I have always felt at home.

Another reason why I feel utterly at home in Canada. Canada was really the great inspiration of my life when I came here, for as a young man of 23, I got the Overseas League idea when I was staying at Rideau Hall in 1906, with the late Lord Grey, a very dear friend of mine, and the fundamental idea of the English-speaking Union, that is to say between the peoples of the British and American Commonwealth, came to me as the result of a talk with a very distinguished French-Canadian, Sir Wilfred Laurier, which I had during my first day on Canadian soil, so naturally I feel tremendously at home here.

Now, I am going to perhaps use the privilege of feeling so at home today to speak to you, if I might, almost as—

anyhow, a Canadian for the time being. And, believe me, no one cares more for Canada than I do or tries more to stand up for her interests than I do—anyhow than I want to do.

Another thing I forgot to say. When my wife and I were wondering where to go for our honeymoon, after looking at the map of the world and toying with explorations from Timbuctoo to Tangyanika we finally decided to come to Canada. I wanted her to get to love Canada as I do, and she does. (Applause.) During the past six months we have travelled 25,000 miles under the auspices of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and also a certain number of miles—I have not made the actual total—under the Canadian National Railway, but I am sure the C.N.R. will excuse me when I say I have a special feeling in my heart for the C.P.R. I used to know Lord Strathcona and I have never forgotten the first time I came to Canada as an absolutely unknown young man of 23. He told me to come down and see him at the High Commissioner's office, then at Victoria Street. (And I am so glad to see Mr. Howard Ferguson here today.) I went down to see Lord Strathcona, I think at a quarter to ten in the morning. You know some Englishmen get to their office at half past twelve and go to lunch at half past one. Lord Strathcona didn't and in the early days I met all the leaders of the C.P.R. I sometimes wish you had in Canada today the same vision held by the marvellous group of old men who originally built up this country.

Now, my theme is to talk to you on the subject of a united Canada and a united Commonwealth. That is a very wonderful theme to have to talk about in a forty minute after-luncheon speech. I only hope I will do justice to it.

First of all, I do think Canada has a unique role to play in the world. She is a partner, an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, a sister state with the Mother Country, and the other Dominions and she is also a partner

in the North American Continent. There were days when some of my fellow countrymen—from Ireland, perhaps—who happen to be making a lucrative living in your country, Sir (the U.S.) used to advocate the absorption of Canada by the United States. It is usually the Irishman who makes the suggestion. I am half Irish myself. Those days are gone. I didn't on my recent visit to the United States find any one who suggested that Canada hadn't a great and noble part to play on this North American Continent. So, you have got the dual role, as I said, you are a partner in the great part that North America is going to play in the world, and you have a partnership also in the British Commonwealth.

There is a further reason why I think Canada has been destined by Providence to have a great future in the history of mankind and that is because you have got a dual culture behind you. You have got two of the great cultural races of Europe behind you. You have all traditions of Shakespeare and the traditions that come from that little island there in those somewhat misty seas, sometimes, of the North Atlantic. You have got the great intellectual heritage of France. I think that is a wonderful possession. I envy Canada that possession, and, fortunately, both my wife and I have a good deal of Norman blood in our veins, so we feel we share that heritage, too.

I think you have, therefore, three great jobs to do in the world; one, to help to unite and bind closer the unity of the British Commonwealth. Two, to help to draw closer—no written alliance—the bonds of friendship typified by your unfortified frontier between yourselves and the United States, and the British Commonwealth and the United States. Thirdly, to draw closer the intellectual outlook, anyhow, of the Motherland of France and the Motherland of Great Britain. If that isn't an inspiring tradition to have behind you, I don't know what it is.

Now, about my trip. On this particular trip my wife and I have visited every Canadian Province. We have not

spent as much time as we should like in each of them. I had never gone to Prince Edward Island before and I was determined on this occasion that I would get there and we got there.

First of all, if I may, I am going to give a very rapid picture of what I saw in the different provinces and of the impressions they made on me. First of all, just one unpleasant thing. I did feel on this visit that there was a spirit of sectionalism in certain parts of Canada. This I deplore. When I stood in that building in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, and looked at the picture of the Fathers of Confederation there and in Quebec and other places, I wondered if everybody in Canada was being quite true to the ideals of the Fathers of Confederation. That was one of the things. Please remember, I used to know Canada before the war, in the very prosperous days. I did also find, I am sorry to say, rather a spirit of defeatism in certain sections, a lack of confidence in your own future and, I think, perhaps a tendency almost to apologize for the great vision of a united Canada. I can only tell you these are two impressions, I am sorry to say, I am taking away with me. I hope they are not the final word, I think they are not.

Now, as regards New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, I think I found there also rather a tendency to live in the past in some quarters, a tendency to be dissatisfied with the present, a feeling that they did not get altogether a square deal in federation, but rather a tendency to be satisfied with conditions as they are and not enough of the spirit, the youthful spirit. I think that is what the Maritime Provinces want. There is no more beautiful section of Canada or of the Empire. I think they want a little of the pioneering spirit of the Strathconas and the people who built your railways, and of mentality of the type of Henry Ford. My wife and I had the privilege of spending an hour and a half with Mr. Ford one day last week. I think you want people like him who refuse to say there is an impossible. When you

see the things he has created in the material field, you realize when Henry Ford does give an opinion he certainly has some reasons for it. Henry Ford is an optimist. I say today the greatest need of Canada is optimists.

(Applause.)

One thing I was very glad to find, both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Greater attention is being paid to your historic shrines. I notice a great change in that respect. Today you have got several wonderful museums. I do hope all of you are planning your holidays—I know in the United States they have a slogan, “Go to Europe, if you will, but see America first.”—I hope in Canada (I am not paid for this by the railways) you will have a slogan, “See Canada first and don’t forget the Maritimes,” and if you do, please go to the wonderful museum at Annapolis (where the early struggles with France took place, and then go to the wonderful museum at Louisburg. I am not sure if it has been officially opened yet, it is going to be soon and it is a wonderful shrine. There is another museum somewhere near Shediac, where the remarkable man, Professor Webster, lives, who has done such yeoman service. I have forgotten the name of the place. At any rate, Professor Webster has done a wonderful work.

I have been sorry to find in some places the tombstones of the United Empire Loyalists falling into disrepair. When we were in Saint John we wanted to visit the historic church—I have forgotten its name. Of course the doors were shut. Fortunately, on Saturday they were putting in some coal for the stove to heat the church for the following Sunday and two coal heavers let us in the back door. I wondered if at every historic shrine on this Continent you had to rely on two coal heavers to let you in. I don’t think so. I have just visited some of the shrines on the Continent and I did find there a great pride in shrines. I do hope if any of the tombstones are getting into disrepair that you will put them right.

Also, another thing, I should like to suggest what modern Canada wants is a Gibbons, a Gibbons who will do for the epic of the United Empire Loyalists what Gibbons did for the history of Rome. It is a wonderful story which I think we, in the Old Country, often don't realize the full implications of, what the men and women suffered when they came into the Union. I hope some day there really will be a worthy story of that great epic.

Migration. I think both the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and of Nova Scotia need more new blood. I know they have had lots of Scotsmen there in the past. When my wife and I were in Cape Breton we watched a negress walking along the main street of a village and we were told she speaks Gaelic in ordinary life. When we were in Quebec we heard old Highlanders still talking Gaelic. Lots of Highlanders in the old days came to those places. I am sorry to say not many are coming now. I think you have got to do something about migration in the Eastern Provinces. What I suggest is that you start farm schools there on the line of the Prince of Wales Fairbridge Farm School we visited on Vancouver Island which brings boys and girls of the ages, five, six and seven, out from the Old Country and trains them on the land and eight or nine years later they are Canadian citizens. I think something of that kind ought to be done in the Maritimes.

I think you have got to build some more roads, not only in the Maritimes but in other parts of Canada. Some of my American friends told me the drawback of coming to Canada with automobiles was that you don't have good roads all the time. Well, I am not going to say where I have struck some bad roads. That would be unkind. I do hope you will push forward the road building campaign taking place in Nova Scotia, officially, at the present time, because I believe in future the Maritimes and Prince Edward Island, Gaspé and on to Quebec will be a great tourist district for the United States visitors.

Now, Prince Edward is a little island. I have forgotten

how long it is, about a hundred miles. Anyhow, there is a very high standard of prosperity there, though I am not quite sure the silver fox will continue to be as lucrative as in the past. I think even in Prince Edward Island it might be a good thing if there were some fresh blood of an especially selected type brought in. They lead a peaceful existence there. Sometimes they think the rest of Canada has forgotten about them. I believe Prince Edward Island could do much more in the way of producing vegetables, canning, fishing, and so on, if the settlers are the right people.

Now, Quebec Province. I think Quebec shows evidence of being the most prosperous province in Canada, certainly much more prosperous than I remembered it as being in the old days. One thing I must say, I do love Quebec Province and I feel sometimes perhaps Canadians don't realize what a wonderful thing they possess there. When I wandered about the Isle D'Orleans on the St. Lawrence, the farmers, the habitants, were cultivating the fields by the same methods as those of their great grandfathers and their forebears two or three hundred years ago, and we watched the peaceful rural life and in every village was a spire pointing heavenward, typifying those people do have the right spiritual values. I don't happen to belong to that Church. I do say this, if our civilization is going to endure, if any of the things we hold dear are going to endure, it will be only if we do put Christ in the place He should be in the order of things. (Applause.) I do want to say, sometimes when one wonders about industrial North America, one perhaps thinks the really fundamental things of the spirit may be forgotten. I don't think they are but superficially one might think so. So, I believe one of the things we have got to do in this century as followers of Christ, (to whatever religion we belong) and in this rocking world, mind you, we are a minority is to try to draw Christianity together. So, I took away from Quebec Province the feeling that with all its faults, there was a province where spiritual values were put first.

Now, when we wanted to see something of Quebec's modern industrial life, my wife and I flew by plane from Montreal to Noranda, 360 miles. I think it was one of the rockiest air journeys I ever had. I was air-sick—she wasn't—and I was mighty glad when we arrived at the end of the journey. We had four hours of buffetting. Those who have done much flying know what air pockets are. You suddenly slip about a quarter of a mile. It is a very unpleasant experience. We went up to Noranda and from the air looked down upon Ontario and Quebec Province, and we saw the two provinces, both made by God, looking extraordinarily alike.

Well, we had a very stimulating visit and we were immensely impressed with the type of people we met up there—just the same as you would meet in your Northern Ontario mining towns. It was a very interesting experience. It was the first time I had visited a gold mine in Canada.

Another thing that struck me. I was rather concerned, and I am now talking about England, I was rather concerned to find that there does not seem to be much intellectual exchange between French-Canada and Great Britain. I found that distinguished French-Canadians were invited by the universities in France to come and address them, but I don't think many of the British universities have done so. I hope through the instrumentality of the Overseas League we may be able to invite some distinguished French-Canadians so they may get to know us in our own homes and I am quite sure they will get a very warm welcome when they come. After all, in England there are some Englishmen who may not like Scotsmen, but they are there, we can't get rid of them. Also, in some places I have been, they don't like Irishmen. Now, as a half Irishman I find it is extremely useful when I travel in the United States. Once in Chicago I got in an argument about Home Rule with the traffic cops, but that is another story. Quebec is on this Continent, and, as it happens, I have actually met people in the Province of Quebec who have

the temerity to say they were there first. I don't know—I have left my text-books behind. Anyway, I say you have got to accept the fact that French-Canada is a partner in the Dominion of Canada, and also, I may say, I did find some people in the Province of Quebec who don't appreciate all the good points of the citizens of Ontario.

Well, I am glad to see a little more getting together. Let us for a moment forget the bad qualities—we have all lots of bad qualities—and let us only think of their good qualities and let us have them think of our good qualities. That is one of the great needs of Canada today.

Now, as regards the Overseas League. It is going to open up, I hope, on a larger scale in the Dominion. We are seeking to do various things. First of all, when we looked around for some one to put in charge of the work—we consider it the most important work the Overseas League has to perform—we did select a Scotsman, Mr. Bridges. There is a Scotsman, as you will find if you talk to him.

I wish I had time to tell you what they said about our English accent in the United States. When I was going up in the elevator in the Olympic Hotel in Seattle, the elevator man said (my wife wasn't there), "You folks speak mighty nice English." I was rather pleased because the first time I ever visited your country, Sir, (The U.S.) I went across from Niagara, Ont. (I think you call it) to Niagara, N.Y., and it was a hot summer day and I wanted an ice cream and I went into one of Child's restaurants and a tall Nordic young lady, dressed in white overalls, and other things as well, came up to my table and in, I thought, my best Canadian or American accent, I said, "Can I have an ice, please?" She looked at me and said, "How?" (Laughter.) That was the first realization I had that I had an English accent. I got it in the Overseas League.

We also appointed in charge of the work of the Overseas League in the Prairie Provinces a young Canadian lady, Miss Gray, whom comes, I believe, from Ontario.

What we hope to do is stimulate visits from the Old Country to Canada. We brought a party of 180 visitors. We only gave them a week in Canada on this occasion but we hope to have many more visits of that kind and we also hope to provide facilities for visitors from Canada when they visit the Old Land and also, on one of these trips we hope to have a two-Motherland trip, to enable visitors to go to the shrines of old France and Normandy and Britain. And we are establishing in Canada a film library showing films of every part of the British Commonwealth which are available for schools. I haven't time to talk at length of them.

I have only thirteen minutes and I haven't started talking about the British Commonwealth. In Ontario you still want some farm workers. I believe there should be a central Bureau to act as a kind of clearing house to enable you to get farm workers of the right kind. I haven't time to go into these things in detail.

I also hope that in time you will get a much larger number of visitors from the Old Country, when they go by sea planes, as no doubt they will, down to the Maritimes and down the St. Lawrence and visit the wonderful lakes in Northern Ontario.

The Prairie Provinces. It was a very sad experience to go back to the Prairie Provinces after an absence of twenty years, but I was tremendously struck by the stiff upper lip the communities in Southern Alberta and Southern Saskatchewan are keeping. They are facing tremendous difficulties, difficulties that I had no idea of until I went through the Canadian dust bowl. I hope that perhaps two or three good seasons are about due now after nine lean years and again Western Canada will take a great jump forward, but for the moment I don't think it is opportune to suggest migration of people from Great Britain unless the people in Great Britain pay all the expenses to the prairie provinces. I think the Prairie Provinces, especially the Northern area have a very great future before them.

Just for the moment, I think you have got to accept the fact that the southern territory touches East Dakota and is subject to the same natural conditions as the United States sections across the line. They should go into more strip farming and pasturage rather than trying only to grow wheat.

British Columbia has an enormous future before it. I think it is ridiculous to have the population of a London suburb occupying that great province. I think there definitely should be some large scale migration, group settlement with expert guidance. I think the day is gone when pamphlets can be distributed in the Old Country which tell a man that fame and fortune awaits him if he comes to this great land. I think it has to be a co-operative form of migration and the kind of youth migration I saw on Vancouver Island.

I would like Canada and British Columbia, if they can beg, borrow or steal the money, to build an Alaskan highway, connecting the great Pacific Highway from Santiago, in the United States, right up to the border of British Columbia and continue up to Alaska. If you did you could make British Columbia one of the great tourist centers of the world.

There are still a few vacancies in the very select community in that dear little place of Victoria. Of course they say they are only for retired Colonels. Anyway, if they are, a Colonel has got to retire, and I don't think he can go to a better place than Victoria.

I have also said you want more Henry Fords, Strathconas and Shaughnesseys, and all of those early pioneers. I have got to be awfully careful what I say. If I say anything you don't like, put it down to the Irish half in me and forgive me. I don't know whether this is true or not, Canadian friends have told me that when you have a change of government in Canada, occasionally some of the employees lose their jobs. Is that true? (Laughter.) All right. Please understand, I am non-partisan. I have

friends in all camps or both parties—a number of new parties have been established in this country. I am not talking, naturally, about Ontario. What I do say is this, one of the things a really virile Canada that believes in its destiny would do is to wipe away abuses of that kind. When a government changes there should be no change in the public service.

And, on the railway question. Probably you will say I am prejudiced, having travelled so much under the Canadian Pacific Railway aegis. However, I did drive a locomotive that belonged to a now defunct railway, the Canadian Northern. I drove a locomotive across the Prairie Provinces and I didn't kill anybody. I can't help feeling, sooner or later, Canada has got to have one railway system. (Applause.) But I think you have got to promise all the labour unions that their jobs will be all right first. (Applause.) I don't want to come to Canada and advocate fewer jobs—only don't appoint any new fellows for a few years until the other fellows get worked off. Sooner or later, economy will do that. Not that I want to suggest that the two great railways aren't the most efficiently run in the world.

What is next? O, yes, this is much more dangerous. I understand some of your great and far-seeing Canadians are dealing with the extremely difficult problem of state and federal rights. I was actually told by two men in this hotel last night that ten governments is too many for a country of ten million. I don't know if that is your view or not. Possibly there might be a way out. You might get a local confederation of provinces, anyhow, keep the number down to six. Some people think you would be better with none at all. Anyhow, I don't know, if it is practical politics. It is a very expensive job having one government looking after 700,000 people, though I imagine it is done fairly efficiently.

Air development. I think you are going to have great air development in Canada. One thing I note on this

trip is this. I find, speaking with all due deference, Sir, there is no particular desire for absorption by the United States at the moment. Under a Republican regime it might be different, but I have actually in your country met some people who wished that they didn't live in the United States at the moment. Now, I think, seriously, that the relationship between Canada and the United States is the ideal of what the relationship between two nations should be. No arguments, trusting the other fellow. Sooner or later, humanity has got to follow your example or go under in that respect. (Applause.)

Now, five minutes to end up with on an optimistic note. First of all, Canada and the Empire. May I say I have several allegiances and today I have the privilege of speaking on my allegiance to Canada and the British Commonwealth. I have other allegiances. One is toward the unity, anyhow the spiritual unity between the two great Commonwealths of the United States and the British Commonwealth. That is one of my religions and, ultimately, I believe in world unity, though I must say after my experience in the last twenty years of travel about Europe on a mission of that kind, perhaps that day isn't quite as near by as I hoped. Just because I believe in world unity, it doesn't mean I budge one iota in my belief that there is a spiritual purpose behind the British Commonwealth, that it can do something in this world that no other group of nations can do. I have no sympathy with some people who try to apologize for the British Empire. (Applause.) I ask you, what would the plight of Europe be today if there wasn't a disinterested Great Britain, trying to keep the scales? I have met some people, even in Canada and also some—perhaps Irishmen in the United States who have criticized the policy of the British Government. I belong to no party. I am quite sure the British Government in Great Britain has made as many mistakes, probably, as other governments. I am not talking about Canada, of course. They are all human, but I do ask you to try and

picture the task of enormous difficulty which Great Britain is very often facing alone in Europe today. You have a diplomatic situation changing from day to day. You have dictatorships in existence who can give quick decisions. I spent fourteen years of my life under Northcliffe. He always regarded himself as a yes or no-man. Just as in Henry Ford's plant, you have a yes or no-man. When I had a talk with Mussolini four years ago I realized that dictatorships have certain advantages over democracies. You can get quick decisions. In a democracy you have got to carry the people with you, but I do say this, whatever the blunders we have made in the British Commonwealth we have wholeheartedly tried to preserve the peace of the world since the Great War. (Applause.) We have tried to stand for the underdog, and if I believed in the British Commonwealth, as I did when I left College, as I have all my life, I believe in it a hundredfold today, because I am not exaggerating, Sir, if the British Commonwealth were to become dismembered now, I say, God help civilization. (Applause.) So, I really haven't got any patience with people who try apologizing, explaining away the British connection within the British Commonwealth. We don't want unwilling partners. We don't raise a hand to persuade anybody to stay in the British Commonwealth who wants to get outside. That is true if anything was true, but the British Commonwealth has got a role to play today that no other nation can play and in that role I believe Canada is destined to play a predominant part.

We are doing a very difficult thing both in Asia and in Africa. Dominion status has, of course, settled the relations of the white population but we are gradually trying to give those different civilizations which come under the British flag in the two great continents, the Dark Continent and the Continent of Asia, a form of government suited to them. It is a very, very great experiment, and it is being done in a disinterested way. The idea that Britain wants to grab more land simply isn't true.

Also, Sir, I would like to reassure some fellow countrymen of yours who met last Saturday night in Boston—not your countrymen, but countrymen of mine. They met in the interests of the society to promote the interests of the Irish Republic. And they held a meeting in New York the other day and they said, “Why should America have any truck with a country that refused to pay its debts?” As it happens, I was born in Ireland and rumours did reach me the last time I was in Ireland that Ireland always hasn’t paid all its debts. It may not have been true. Anyhow, friends of the Irish Republic in New York get up and tell the President of the United States what he should do. I think he would pay more attention to those words if they were uttered by people who were born and whose ancestors were born on the American Continent.

Now, a minute more. A hundred years ago, Great Britain, despite all the economic arguments of the time, thanks to having a group of men of vision, abolished slavery. For nearly fifty years, Wilberforce, despite enormous opposition, worked to abolish slavery and in his lifetime it was abolished and that was one of the great steps forward. He achieved his goal. Why? Because he was entirely disinterested and was working for a great ideal. In all humbleness I say today in the British Commonwealth we have got just as great a task to do. We have got to abolish the slavery of men’s minds. We have got to help to establish a new order.

When I looked at the San Francisco bridges the other day, those wonderful structures, I felt tremendously that what we need is political engineers to build a system by which the nations of the world could live together in friendly co-operation and, as I said at the English-Speaking Union Dinner, Mr. President, the other night, it is my firm conviction that there is only one way in which to build up a new and better civilization and that is the real thing that we have got to work for in the remaining sixty-three years of this century. That is to try and put into operation the

ethics of the founder of Christianity, "Thou shalt love Thy neighbour as thyself." (Applause, prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Sir Evelyn, we also thank Dr. Noble. (Applause.)

Today, Sir, you have brought home some truths and have given us food for thought in this inspiring address and we, as Canadians and members of the British Commonwealth of Nations will do well to ponder over them very seriously.

On behalf of our guests, the radio audience and our members, I thank you Sir, and wish you and Lady Wrench a pleasant visit here, a safe return and continued success. And now, for a moment, that Scotsman, Mr. Bridges.

MR. BRIDGES: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I shan't detain you more than half a minute. It is my pleasant duty today, Lady Wrench, to present to you, on behalf of the members of the Overseas League here in the City of Toronto, a little souvenir which we hope you will take away with you and we hope you will keep before you always to remember this very happy visit to Canada's Queen City. (Applause.)

LADY WRENCH: I won't take more than a minute of your time. I should like to say how deeply touched my husband and I are at this gift you have made us. We would not require to have that in order to carry away very warm and happy memories of our visit to Toronto. Every time we look at it it will be with very special thoughts of gratitude to our Overseas League friends here in your great city. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: The meeting stands adjourned.

THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES H.
MACBRIEN, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., (since deceased)

Thursday, November 18th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Lord Digby, Our Guests, Members of the Empire Club of Canada: We are pleased to have as our guests today to honour our speaker, representatives of the various organizations with whom he comes in contact. Also, we welcome the President of the Royal Winter Fair, Mr. Gordon Perry, and the Army Teams competing at that Fair. (Applause.) At the head table we have the captains of those teams, from the Irish Free State, Belgium, Holland, the United States of America and our own Captain Bate. I think it is only fitting at this time to express our congratulations to Captain Bate and the members of the Canadian Team on their great success in New York last week. (Applause.)

Flanked on either side by so many Major-Generals and Generals and with the eye of the law upon me from the Dominion, Provincial and City representatives, I am probably the most guarded person in the country today. And I was taught some years ago not to speak until the Senior Officer had spoken. I should not be speaking now. Today, however, we have got our man and our guest-speaker, the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police with us. They are known throughout the world as the silent force, yet today we are to have the pleasure of having that silence broken. Major-General Sir James MacBrien has had a remarkable and a distinguished career. His has been a life of service to this country and to the

Empire. He has shown he is possessed of that great quality needed today in this country and all countries, the quality of good leadership and he has also been an example to all who have served under him.

From those who saw the Coronation procession we learn that the Mounties stole the show. How thrilled we Canadians were who listened over the radio and heard the announcer say, "Here they come—the Royal Canadian Mounted Police."

And so it is that I have a feeling of great pride as a Canadian to introduce to you the Commanding Officer of that great force, the Commissioner, Major-General Sir James H. MacBrien, and as our guest speaker, his subject is, "The History, Organization, Training and Work of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police." Sir James.

(Applause.)

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES H. MACBRIEN, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.: Mr. President, Fellow Guests and Gentlemen: I appreciate your welcome. I appreciate the invitation which has brought me here as your guest for the third time within the last twelve years. I was your guest about twelve years ago when I was Chief of Staff of the Defence Department. I spoke to you on that occasion of the situation in the Far East, which is now just as critical. Then I was your guest again and I spoke to you on aviation in which I was engaged at the time. Now, I come as a Commissioner of your National Police Force, this makes my third time and it is probably a case of three strikes and out.

It is a great privilege to be here with Lord Digby whose reputation has preceded him and it is also a great privilege to be here with the members of the International Military Teams, many of whom I know quite well. I got to know them in New York where I saw their splendid performances.

I accepted your invitation to speak to you today because of your name, your reputation and what your Club stands for. It has been part of my ambition during my years of service to help weld this Empire of ours more closely to-

gether. (Applause.) Therefore, I thought it my duty to accept when I was invited to come and speak to you and give you an idea of the work of your National Police Force.

I am to speak to you first of the early history, of its present organization, something of the training and, finally, of the different phases of the work. I had intended to speak to you quite briefly until I had a second letter from your President, asking me to speak for at least forty-five minutes, as the time on the radio had been engaged for that period. I don't know whether I can keep it up that long or not. I am not a public speaker. I am simply a plain policeman. "You would not expect one of my profession to speak with rhetoric on a stage like this, so if I should fall below Demosthenes or Cicero, do not view me with a fixed eye, but pass my imperfections by."

The history of the North West Mounted Police, as it was originally known, and that of Western and Northern Canada are inseparably linked. That portion of our Canadian West which is west of Winnipeg and east of the Rockies in 1870 was acquired by the Dominion Government from the Hudson's Bay Company for a sum of a million and a half dollars. At that time no form of government or control of any description existed in that part of the country which afterward became known as the Northwest Territories. The natives, the Indians, did pretty much what they wished. The country was over-run with outlaws of different descriptions, some of them from our neighbours to the south, some of them our own natives, and they made the country unsafe to live in.

Fairly interesting patrols were made out through the West, immediately after the First Riel Rebellion in 1869 which was won by Captain Butler who had been on Lord Wolseley's staff. He travelled through the Rockies and back and wrote a book worth reading, called "The Great Lone Land." In this book he foretells the development that has since taken place in the west and he quoted from the great American poet, Whittier, as follows:

"I hear the tread of nations,
Of empires yet to be,
The dull low wash of waves where yet
Shall roll a human sea."

Two years later the Adjutant General of the Canadian Militia, Colonel Ross Robertson, a name well known in Toronto, made a similar trip through the west and made recommendations to the government, the same as Captain Butler had made. Acting on the two recommendations the Government in 1873, which is a period three years afterward, took action to form the North-West Mounted Police.

Just at this period, when the decision was being made to form the police the Cypress Hill Massacre occurred and immediately in August of 1873, the government commenced the recruiting of the first three troops of the North-West Mounted Police. The first three troops were mobilized without horses at Collingwood, Ontario, and proceeded by what was then known as the Dawson route, by boat to Port Arthur and thence by canoe, portage and march to Fort Garry, what is now known as Winnipeg.

It was decided that the Force should be a cavalry regimental organization, that they would wear military uniform and the red serge, now well known, was adopted because it was felt that it would impress the Indians, which it did. When the Indians saw the red or scarlet tunic they said, "We know that the soldiers of our Great Mother wear red coats and will be our friends." As a matter of fact, the red coat has been a great factor in the success of the North-West Mounted Police ever since that time.

The first Commissioner appointed was Colonel George A. French, a British Army Officer on loan to Canada at that time in command of "B" Battery at Kingston, which is now in command of Brigadier Elkins who is at the table here. Colonel French was sent to Fort Garry and took charge of the troops. He appreciated the situation and decided he did not have enough men. Only 150 were sent out on the first contingent. Almost immediately after,

within a few weeks anyway he returned to Ottawa and persuaded the government to double the force, to increase the strength to 300, which was done in the spring of 1874. These three additional troops went out with horses by train, by way of Detroit, Chicago and St. Paul, up to Fargo. Leaving the train at Fargo, they marched north to Emerson, then called Dufferin, inside the border of Canada, where they met the three troops that moved on from Winnipeg.

So, for the first time, in July 1874 the Commissioner had his troops together, numbering 300, and about the same number of horses, and he had the task with these men of bringing law and order to the western portion of our country. He immediately decided on a show of force, such as he had. On the 8th of July he commenced a march westward to the Rocky Mountains. Two troops were detached and sent north to what is now called Edmonton. With the remaining troops he moved to a point near Fort MacLeod, a place well named Fort "Whoop-up," which was the headquarters of the bootleggers from the United States. They had erected a fort and were flying the flag of the United States at that point. After many vicissitudes he arrived at his destination. The bootleggers retreated to their own country and eleven detachments were established at strategical points through the west and he returned with the bulk of his force to Winnipeg to spend the winter, as the headquarters at Swan River had been finished. He completed a march of 2,000 miles which is a long way to go, as you will agree. Anyone who has been connected with cavalry will agree that to do 2,000 miles over undeveloped country like that was a very fine performance. It won for the Mounted Police the name which has stuck to us ever since, "The Riders of the Plains." A poet of that day described it as follows:

"Our mission is to plant the flag
Of British freedom here,
Restrain the lawless savage,
And protect the pioneer.

And its a proud and daring trust
To hold these vast domains
With but three hundred mounted men
"The Riders of the Plains."

After that great march was over the next task really was to gain the good will of the Indians. This was done during the next year or two most successfully, so successfully that the government almost immediately was able to conclude treaties with the various tribes which have stood until this day, because the Indians accepted us as their friends and protectors. In 1875 the Force succeeded in rounding up those who committed the Massacre at Cypress Hill, two years previously.

In 1876 a very dangerous situation arose in the West through 5,000 of Sitting Bull's warriors crossing the border into Canada and remaining in our country as unwelcome guests for a period of five years. During the whole of the time they were there they were a menace to the inhabitants, to the peace of that part of the country, but eventually they were persuaded to return to their own country. It has been described as the first visit of the American tourists to Canada. They were just as unwelcome as our present visitors from the United States are welcome.

Perhaps the next exciting affair to tell you about was the affair with Almighty Voice, who shot one of our sergeants. He succeeded in keeping away from us for two years but eventually he was captured and suffered the consequences of his crime.

Now, in 1882, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was commenced and for the next three years we had a very busy time keeping the Indians quiet because they were very opposed to the construction of the railway across the prairies. In 1885 the unrest the Indians had shown broke out through the half-breeds and we had the Riel Rebellion of 1885. The strength of the Mounted Po-

lice was promptly brought up to 1,000. It performed a very honourable part in the putting down of the rioting.

As soon as the railway was finished in 1885 the settlers began to pour in and new settlements were springing up all over the west and it was then that the patrol work on horse-back that your Force is known so well for commenced. A system of divisions, posts, detachments and patrols was instituted. Each detachment had certain areas to patrol. All sorts of duties besides the ordinary police duties were performed for the country, such as the duties of Customs Officers, Justices of the Peace, Gaolers, Postmasters, and the suppression of illicit liquor traffic, horse stealing and other crimes. Of course, the latter ones are police work.

In 1895, the next excitement the Force experienced was the news of gold in the Yukon. Some one made a very wise decision at that time to send Superintendent Constantine, father of the Adjutant General of our Force, to the Yukon with a detachment. He was established there in 1896 and when the greatest gold rush in history took place in 1898, the Mounted Police were on the spot and maintained law and order in a manner that excited the admiration of the world.

In 1897 the Force was first honoured by Her Majesty by being asked to send a contingent to the Diamond Jubilee. We are very proud to think that we have been honoured in the same way at the coronation of the three monarchs since that time.

In the South African War we played also an honourable part. The Force was drawn on very heavily at that time for the Canadian Mounted Rifles, the Strathcona Horse, the South African Constabulary, and other units that took part. We also have that on our colours.

By 1904 our patrols had penetrated the Peace River country, down the Mackenzie River to its mouth, and out as far as Herschel Island, 150 miles out into the Arctic. We had also penetrated into the northern part of the Yukon

and in this year, 1904, Corporal Mapley carried out a very marvellous patrol from Dawson City across into the valley of the Mackenzie River, a distance of 1,000 miles, and for a good many years that was the method of sending the mail into the lower part of the Mackenzie River Valley—by sending it to Dawson and across by our patrols, across the Richardson and the Mackenzie Mountains. Eventually, though, we had a great disaster on that route. Captain Fitzgerald and three men lost their lives through losing their way.

In 1904 the Force was honoured by being given the title “Royal,” and it became known as the *Royal* Northwest Mounted Police.

Now, we will come to the Great War, and again the Force was very heavily drawn on for different contingents, different units that went overseas and eventually the Force was privileged to send a squadron to France and a squadron to Siberia. Both acquitted themselves very well indeed. Two former members of the Mounted Police won the Victoria Cross, Colonel G. R. Pearks, whom you know of, formerly a Corporal in the Mounted Police, and Lieutenant Michael O’Leary, whose name will be dear to our Irish friends who are here today. (Applause.)

In 1920 the Force was made the national police force of Canada and its name was altered to the *Royal Canadian* Mounted Police. The headquarters were moved down to Ottawa and we absorbed the old Dominion Police and took over their protective duties. Under the *Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act* we also are permitted to do provincial and municipal police work, when agreements have been reached with the provinces.

From 1906 to 1922 patrols were sent up to the Eastern Arctic by boat but it was not until 1922 that the first permanent detachment was established on Ellesmere Land, within a distance of about 900 miles of the pole. Soon afterward it was moved from Craig Harbour to Bache Peninsula, 200 miles nearer the pole, so that continued for many years to be our most northern detachment. Patrols

from that point northward have been within 400 miles of the pole.

In 1928 we took over the provincial police work of Saskatchewan. They had had their own police force for a few years back had asked for the services of the Mounted Police back so we absorbed the Saskatchewan Provincial Police in that year and we have been doing their provincial work ever since.

I might mention here that I returned to the Mounted Police after an absence of 30 years in 1931. Almost a complete re-organization of the Mounted Police was commenced in that year. New duties were assumed almost immediately. We took on the provincial police work of six provinces, giving us a total of six out of the nine and that provincial police work now constitutes about sixty per cent of our total work. We also took over the preventive service duties from the Department of National Revenue. That is the proper enforcement of those provisions of those two acts that have to do with the province of smuggling of every description, chiefly liquor, of course, and narcotics, and in that connection we have some very interesting work. We also protect the migratory birds. We even have to carry out a census of the number of birds coming north and going south each year.

So, we found at the end of 1932, the Force that had started in 1873 with the strength of 300, or 150, if you wish, at the end of 1932 amounted to over 3,000, including a few civilians we employ.

In 1933 we celebrated our Diamond Jubilee by doing a record amount of work and commencing the publication of our regimental magazine which was an educational magazine published quarterly. Also in that year we got a Long Service Medal authorized. We also got pensions authorized for the dependents of the members of the Force serving the required period or dying during service. Up to that time their dependents had no such protection.

Now, we come to our present organization. We have our

headquarters in Ottawa. We are divided into fourteen divisions, three of which are in Ontario, because we have our headquarters in Ottawa. Two of them are there for that reason. Otherwise, our divisions coincide with the provincial boundaries pretty much. We have in Ottawa, too, the "G" Division, or the Arctic Division. We control our work in the Arctic now from Ottawa by wireless almost entirely. The Yukon is a division by itself, with headquarters at Dawson. Our divisions are all divided into subdivisions, Sections, Patrol Areas and Detachment Areas. At Ottawa you find the Commissioner's Office and a small staff. A most interesting branch is the Criminal Investigation Branch, which supervises all the police work the Force does of every nature. Then, we come to another section, the National Finger Print Bureau and Fire Arms Registration. As you know all revolvers are now registered and we have registered upward of 165,000 up to date. I imagine we haven't registered more than about half of what are in the country. We have the finger prints for the whole of Canada. All police reports are sent to us and are classified and are there for reference when needed. We have the Preventive Service about which I will speak a little later. That is a separate branch. There is the Intelligence Branch. That might form a subject of a lecture or an address by itself. We keep track of the funny sort of people who come to our shores or who develop peculiarities in this country.

We have a Ticket of Leave Branch. We keep track of all who are let out on leave from our government institutions. We have a Scientific Section in Ottawa now, and another one at Regina. We are calling in science to aid us in the detection of crime and in that section of Ottawa we have a photographic unit. We are training our men to use cameras for taking pictures of scenes of crime, as well as taking pictures of finger prints, off door knobs and window panes.

We have an Administrative Branch under a Deputy Com-

missioner. He deals with discipline, supply, pay and matters of that sort.

We are in the act of forming a new branch, called Training and Education. It is considered necessary at the moment to have this Branch to study the systems and methods of other countries and to look into and profit by their experience.

Now, we come to the last part of our organization, that is the Reserve. That was formed this year. The Force never had a reserve. One was authorized and we recruited it on the 1st of July. We got in 300 of the finest looking young men I have even seen recruited on a quota basis, right across Canada. They were trained for two months and we didn't have a single misdemeanor at any of the four stations where they were trained. We could have taken 195 of them as being fit to take their place in our ranks. This Reserve Force is available at any time to reinforce the main part of the Force in case of necessity and it is intended to draw most of our recruits in the future from that force because the period of training, two months, is ample time to look them over and select the best from them.

Our strength today, as I mentioned, is about 3,000, including civilians. We, alas, have only 211 horses. We have 439 dogs though, and some of them are police dogs. Most of them are sleigh dogs. We have a fleet of 524 motor vehicles that travel over 3 millions of miles a year. We have at the moment only four aeroplanes, although we have been employing about ten of the Royal Canadian Air Force. This year we formed our own section, using our own personnel who had former experience and at the moment although we only own four aeroplanes, we hope to expand that section slowly as the need arises. We have a fleet of 116 vessels, from canoes up to ocean craft. About 40 are employed, in the prevention of smuggling, chiefly, on the east coast, some on the west. They are used heavily on the east where our fellow countrymen have a great taste for rum. We have 232 sailors who wear sailors'

uniforms and with the name "Royal Canadian Mounted Police" on their caps.

We have 225 men in our mounted section.

Now, about the recruiting. Particular attention has been paid to our recruiting. We have an average of between 4,000 and 5,000 applicants a year. We have only been able to take out of those an average of about 200, so we have had a wide selection. Naturally, we have taken the opportunity of raising our physical standard and our educational standard and our moral standard, too. It is said it is hard to get into the Mounted Police but it is easy to get out.

We had an applicant the other day who said he had been occupying a situation in an important government institution. We found that was true. We checked up his finger prints. Needless to say, he wasn't enlisted.

Apart from the physical examination we have quite a high standard of education, that of junior matriculation, and we get a good number in who have been one or more years at university. Some of them are graduates. A good many have been at the Royal Military College, some are graduates. All have to go through the ranks and earn their promotion, step by step. We put them into various categories and, of course, we take the top, the outstanding recruits.

All recruits are trained in our main Depot at Regina and it is a very long process because we find police work is very complicated and we have to give our men a fair chance of catching the up-to-date criminal. They have to have long and careful training. Those who do well in the Depot are naturally the first to go out. From the recruits in the Depot we choose those we want to go to the Mounted Section, and that is done in the Depot, too.

For training in the Marine Section the applicants are drawn from those with sea experience, and they are sent to Halifax and trained with the help of the Royal Canadian Navy.

With the Aviation Section, the Flying Clubs and the Royal Canadian Air Force help with the training of the recruits in this section.

The training is comprehensive and consists of advanced instruction in ballistics, typewriting, some shorthand, Dominion and provincial police work, counterfeiting, safe blowing, lectures on scientific aids to crime detection, development of powers of investigation and so on. We have numerous courses for promotion. We have refresher courses which I won't have time to tell you about, in order to keep the Force up to date.

Now, the work of the Force. I must hurry on. We have the Federal duties first, such as: Explosives Act, Indian Act, Fisheries, Immigration Act, Migratory Birds Convention Act, Railway Act, Naturalization Act, Ticket of Leave Act and Opium and Narcotic Drug Act.

Then we have the provincial work for the six provinces, as I mentioned. Then we come to the Preventive Service Work where we employ about 300 land men, 220 members of the Marine Section, with from 35 to 40 vessels and the 4 aeroplanes, in the prevention of smuggling of liquor and narcotics. Perhaps that is as interesting a phase of the work as we have. We have the work of protecting the public buildings in Ottawa, and the dockyards at Halifax and the magazines wherever they are situated in the same way.

We are an emergency police force, too. We supply reinforcements to any province that requires them, or any city. Usually once or twice a year we are asked to send reinforcements to this or that city or this or that province.

Now, we come to our Northern Service where we get our greatest publicity, which we do not seek for. It comprises all the part of Canada north of the 60th Parallel, a third of the whole of Canada, and in that whole area there are, including the Yukon, only about 12,000 or 13,000 people. We police that vast region with a hundred men, about 35 or 36 detachments. They have motor boats,

canoes and dog teams. Most of the travel is done along the river, both summer and winter, or along the great lakes, and that is how we handle our detachments in the north. We do almost every job you can think of in the north for that portion of the country. We are organized there, of course, in sub-divisions and detachments, the same as we are in the west.

There are two patrols in the North. I can give an idea of the work done there. One man, Inspector Joy, in 1929 travelled over 1700 miles from North Devon Island westward to an island called Melville Land, thence northeasterly to Bache Peninsula on Ellesmere Land, making a total distance of 1700 miles and occupying 81 days. We do a certain number of those patrols every year, called exploratory patrols, to find the nature of the country, what is in and who is in it.

Then, in 1930 and '31, patrols were carried out amounting to 2,300 miles by two patrols, one doing 1,500 and the other 800, looking for the lost explorer by the name of Krueger, a German explorer who lost himself in the North. They didn't succeed in finding him. That party suffered a good deal of hardship. They were out a long time and they came back very hungry. They had eaten 29 out of the 125 dogs before getting back.

One of the most important of our units in the north is a boat, a vessel, called the St. Roch, with a crew of 12. It goes up, for three year periods, from Vancouver, around Alaska and distributes supplies to detachments in the North. It does certain patrol work by water. It carries two or three teams of dogs on board and does the work with them in the winter time. It is a self-contained unit, connected by wireless to us in Ottawa.

In 1880 Great Britain handed over to Canada the Arctic Island Archipelago and up in that part, on Ellesmere Land, we do a great deal of this long distance patrol work.

Now, my time is up. I misjudged it somewhat.

There is a great variety to our work, as you will see from

the enumeration of the different phases I have given you. Some of it is intensely interesting, such as the detective and under-cover work, the preventive service work and the northern service. There is also a lot of humdrum work in connection with provincial police work but it is not too much to say, and it has happened, that a constable of ours, or a non-commissioned officer, might be riding horses in Regina, he might be observing from an aeroplane over the Pacific Coast or the Atlantic Coast, and he might be driving a dog team in the North, all in the space of one year.

Important as the services of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are, at present I feel the future holds even greater responsibility for us. There are still certain duties which could be entrusted to us with advantage and so that greater value could be derived from our national police force. The Force, as your President said, is known as the "Silent Force." You won't believe that after hearing this long oration from me, but most of our good work has been done through avoiding publicity and working quietly over a very considerable period.

The correct motto of the Force is not "Get your Man," it is "Maintain the Right." There is a story about getting your man that I might tell you. It is supposed to be the origin of the expression, "Get your Man." A patrol was sent out 500 miles to arrest an Indian. He was arrested and they got back within a day's patrol of the post when unfortunately the prisoner was eaten by wolves and they had to go all the way back to the reservation to get another Indian. (Laughter.)

We act on the principle that prevention is better than cure in police work. The Force was never in better condition than it is today, for reasons I have explained. It never had better men, never better educated men. They are better trained, they are better conditioned in service and housing, they have better pay, there is a better spirit, naturally, and spirit is everything. The duties today are performed with fairness, I hope, and without fear, affection

or favour of any one. We try to perform our duties with a sense of justice and good manners, gaining the trust and confidence of the community at large.

I do not claim the present condition of the Force as due to me. It is rather the result of the accumulative effort of all those who have given of their best during the last thirty odd years. The keynote of the Force, if I could sum it up is that of loyalty, loyalty to the King, loyalty to Canada, our country, loyalty to the Empire, and very important, too, loyalty to the Force and loyalty to each other.

Now, finally, I think you will agree with the poet from Calgary, Mr. W. H. Foster, who wrote these lines :

Long live these patriotic sons!
Long may their prowess ring!
Upholders of our nation's laws,
Defenders of the King.
May Justice grow and Truth hold sway,
Throughout our vast domains—
Protected by our Redcoat boys—
The Riders of the Plains.

I apologize, Mr. President, for taking longer than I estimated. I appreciate being your guest and I thank you all for your patience in listening to me. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Sir James, your third strike being a four bagger, you start all over again. We appreciate greatly your honouring us today and bringing closer to home the work of the great force of which we are justly proud. On behalf of the Empire Club of Canada, our Guests, and the radio audience, I offer you our grateful thanks.

(Applause.)

POPULATION PROBLEMS

AN ADDRESS BY COMMISSIONER DAVID C. LAMB,
C.M.G., LL.D.

Thursday, November 25th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Your Grace, Our Guests, Members of the Empire Club of Canada: A few years ago the Primate in addressing this Club said, "I bear my tribute to the courage and the steadfastness of the multitudes of our people, the great many of our people who in these times of great stress and hardship have exercised such patience." One of the reasons for this, he believed, was the work carried on by the various social welfares. His address, you will remember, was on "Leadership." Today, we have as our guest-speaker one of the leaders of a great social welfare organization. The work of the Salvation Army was once termed 'applied Christianity', as all social problems are attacked only after much study and in a very systematic manner. In fact, we are inclined to say, "Let the Salvation Army do it," when the problem is not to our liking.

Commissioner Lamb has been an Army Officer for over half a century. Some of the important posts he has filled include that of Private Secretary to General Bramwell Booth, Commissioner for South Africa and head of the Immigration and Settlement Department of the Salvation Army. He has travelled extensively in the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, Japan, China and Korea, studying at first hand the subject on which he will address us today, which is such a vital issue not only to Canada but to the whole world. I have much pleasure in calling on Commissioner Lamb, C.M.G., LL.D. The subject of his address is "Population Problems." Commissioner Lamb. (Applause.)

COMMISSIONER DAVID C. LAMB, C.M.G., LL.D.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen or — shall I say? — Friends: I am rather embarrassed and I just want to say one or two things before I speak to you on the question. The gentlemen on my right, Mr. Dewan, was just saying to me, "talking will be easy to you." It isn't. You see, Sir, I divide the Salvation Army, like the world, into those that talk and those that work, and, if it please my friends, I belong to the workers and I don't find talking easy, as those on the other side, but on occasions like these I have standing instructions from my children to this effect: "Now, Father, not too high, not too low, not too fast, not too slow, and for goodness' sake not too Scotch." If I suggest that some people like Scotch neat, they get impatient with me and pass on.

Then, I was greeted by one of my friends on the left, and he came to shake hands a second time because he learned I came from Aberdeen. I said, I will have to put that right. Now, my natural home is Angus. You have heard of Angus, a village about ten miles from Glamis, which I regard as the center of the Empire. Now, my natural home is Angus but my spiritual home, where I met the Salvation Army, is Aberdeen, so I am an Aberdeen Angus—a very good cross.

At a meeting of the British Association a few weeks ago we were waiting to go into the official service on Sunday morning. There was about a dozen of us there and we were wondering if the speaker would make himself heard. The President filled up the time by telling a little story about a man lecturing somewhere and he got going when a voice came from the back of the hall, "Speak up. We can't hear a word you are saying." A voice from the front said, "Shut up and thank God." Well, if I am not making myself heard, just say, "Speak up."

Then, another thought, and you will see the application. I had two experiences with George Bernard Shaw. Now, I don't suggest for a moment that I can imitate him in any

way—I am Scotch and he is Irish, and that is the beginning and the end of that. He told me on one occasion that he had learned the art—I suppose we call it the art of public speaking, at the Salvation Army. He gathered around the Open Airs in his early days in Socialism, just to gather up what the Army left. I don't know what he did with it, but still the Army marched off and he was left. Then, he started coming early to see how we got on and he told me that the fellow who talked of himself and of his own experiences was the man who gripped the crowd.

Then, I went to a lecture of his once. I paid for it. I remember we had a synopsis of the lecture circulated and I can see him now. He got up. "Now, here you are. You have got the synopsis. If you have any brains you will fill it in without my saying anything more about it. You can put it away. I am going to talk to you about something else, so you have two lectures for the price of one."

Now, you have got brains. There is no television, but if I wave my hand or don't stop to finish a sentence—well, you have brains and I must push on. If I wave my hand, fill that in yourself and then you will get double for your money, don't you see, whereas if I stop to elaborate, as I might do if I were talking to the Cadets, then—

Now, I am very much at home when it comes to abstract questions like this population problem. If I were talking about the Salvation Army or the actualities of every day life, I could ramble along and make it very interesting to you. But before I come close up to the question, and I will do the best I can, let me make one or two general observations.

This question is a world question and like water the question of population is irresistible. It is not yet an acute colour question but the black line is moving north on the North American Continent and it is moving south in Africa, and in the Far East we have the yellows moving—where?

And if it has been said that there is here and there a decline in the birth-rate, local, national or racial, one thing

is certain, Sir—world pressure does not grow less—it increases. Incidentally, small families are not an economic issue. A study of wealth groups has shown conclusively, I think, that as wealth increases, the family decreases, so when I hear somebody say it is an economic question, they can't afford it, I can't reconcile it with the facts. Then, we hear something said about the alleged—I call it alleged—decline but there is a possibility of taking too short a view. Nature has a way of asserting itself. I had occasion quite recently to look at the United Kingdom birth rate figures. There I noticed that in the five years before 1914, in round figures, the average annual birth rate was roughly 800,000. In the war period of five years it held to 600,000. In the five years following it rose to 800,000. But in one of the years following the war it rose to 900,000. Well, you have got brains. You have only got to think and you will see in 1942 or '43, there may be a corresponding rise that answers to that 900,000. Anyway, I am going to wait for a year or two before I lose much sleep over that.

Now, let me examine with you quite briefly, four aspects of the question: Political, Economic, as it affects Canada, and as it affects the humanities.

Now, in relation to politics. I confess to a feeling of impatience with politicians and economists, alike. High tariff, protection and free trade, over-production and under-consumption—they make me hot and cold and give me the shivers which generally precede an attack of influenza and leaves us still with poverty in the midst of plenty.

Of course, let me stop for a moment and say the Salvation Army doesn't know anything about politics. I was telling Mr. Dewan that one of the Federal Ministers gave me a word at the Windsor Hotel in Montreal—have you heard of Montreal, all of you here? I was in Montreal the other day and I mentioned Toronto and they looked as though they had never heard of the place. The Chairman said, "There is a place called Toronto." I was in Montreal when a Federal election was going on. They

were very anxious to know what my politics was. I have no politics. Mr. Robb, the late Minister of Finance came along and he helped me out. "What are they badgering you about, Colonel?" I told him. He said, "I will tell you what the Colonel's politics are. He is a Ministerialist." And I am much obliged to Mr. Robb for that phrase.

With regard to economists, I will say something about them to you presently. If the people responsible would confess to a failure of brain power or organizing ability, I would understand it, but they go on and blame the other fellows always. And I wish our politicians would make up their mind on the question, as to whether a decent working man is to be regarded as a liability or an asset, and that is a political issue rather than an economic one.

Continuing the political side of it. The distribution of the Empire's population in regard to defence is surely capable of some adjustment. The vacant spaces of the Empire will constitute a danger unless we proceed with reasonable diligence to develop them. The danger may lie in the Empire or in Asia; it may first assail Canada or Australia. The Union of South Africa is not without some anxieties from within and without. I am very glad to notice in this connection that General Hertzog and General Smuts have got together and are no longer what I call opposing schools, but are standing together, I believe, firmly in the interests of a united Empire. Of course, there are some of the fellows from the backwoods, and so forth but there it is.

I can't stop to develop the colour question there. It is very interesting but, as I say, I can't stop to develop that.

In passing, look at Queensland in the matter of distribution of population. There is that beautiful state, semi-tropical, rich and comfortable, with less than a million people, and there you have 47,000 men in excess of the female population. You can't hope to develop under such conditions.

Closely allied is the eugenic question. Do the fittest survive? After all, to get down to business, is it the fittest? We all know something of Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection—a theory, by the way, which Darwin told us never created anything but could only operate on what was created.

I am not a pessimist—far from it—but looking at the world today, I am compelled to answer the question, "Do the fittest survive?" with a qualified negative.

In our social and economic environment we appear to have lost our creative genius, and the evolutionary conception is in the ascendancy. In the last analysis, of course it follows the line of least resistance, not necessarily that of the greatest efficiency.

Why do I come to the tentative conclusion that the fittest do not survive? Because, amongst other reasons:

1. War, which should be only a thing of history, still, in this much-vaunted civilization, destroys the best of the race.

2. Unemployment lowers the physical, spiritual, and moral standard of people maintained in idleness.

3. The unrestricted growth of our great cities inevitably creates living conditions in which people cannot be fit.

4. The appalling slaughter on the roads—the evidence of lack of control and disregard for courtesy.

5. The alarming increase in the number of the dependent part of the population—other than the unemployed—is a very sure sign that large numbers of the unfit, at any rate, survive.

Recently, I was the guest of the Eugenic Society at the Galton Anniversary Dinner in London, and I had to make a speech. When I was considering what I would say, I wondered what I, as a Salvation Army Officer had to do with eugenics, and in seeking for a point of contact, I seemed to find it in the dictum of the eminent anthropologist, Sir Arthur Keith, that "War was Nature's pruning hook." When Sir Arthur, in his Rectorial address to

the students of Aberdeen, adumbrated this idea, he shocked many of his friends and caused a good deal of discussion. But Sir Arthur Keith was right. War is nature's pruning hook. I agree with him and because I agree with him I find myself in revolt against Nature. For my own part I cannot accept any system (and when I speak of a system I mean, of course, the people responsible for the maintenance of the system) which destroys the best eugenic types of the human race, as a good and satisfactory system; nor can any thoughtful, honest and well-balanced mind, desirous of seeing the fittest survive, contemplate with equanimity the continuance of that system.

Mr. Chairman, as the world is constituted, and with human nature as it is, I submit the nations of the earth need a court of equity, to which all may submit their disputes and an international police prepared, if and when necessary to enforce the decisions of the court. (Applause.) Without some such arrangement our western civilization is doomed to perish. And if Britain will lead the way in this matter she will be given some moral right to be placed among the fittest and confirm her right to survive.

I was at the Hague recently and I had the opportunity of looking in the wonderful records, in a quiet way, of that court that is there, the International Hague Tribunal, that settles questions of law, and I saw the number of disputes that had been settled there without animosity, and that goes on still and the League of Nations still goes on. I regard the League of Nations in this sense as a sort of Grand Jury, but over and above all that, we want the Court of Equity with the international police force.

You see the indirect bearing all that has on population questions. You can't settle by law; it has got to be settled by equity. However, that is rather political and I hope you won't think it too remote from the subject, because the pressure of population, east and west and north and south, has got to be faced by you young men here. You have got to face that pretty soon.

Now, in relation to Economics. Economics is like Science—unethical and immoral. No one understands them; at least no school of which I have yet heard commands general respect. I see this—the existing order for several years throws 25 to 30 per cent. of the workers on the scrap-heap of industry. Now, it is morally wrong to keep people long periods in idleness and what is morally wrong cannot be economically right or politically sound. (Applause.)

Here are a few figures for consideration. In the Old Country we have spent £2,000,000,000—I won't try to put that in dollars, you must do that for yourselves—we have spent that on the endowment of idleness, and you, here in Canada, haven't had the wit to come to the Old Country and say, "We will take these people, take them and make something out of them." I thought you were ahead of us in your thinking, more on your toes. I don't know where you Canadians have been. Surely you have been looking to the Americans.

And another thought. It requires the income derived from £2,000 in gilt edged securities to maintain a family in idleness. When they have been maintained for a year you go on, the £2,000 is still there, locked up. Round they go. We have been trying an experiment in the Old Country to get the settlers on the land through the District Areas and Land Settlement Commission. Now, it costs £800, £1,000 and £1,200 to settle a family on what I regard as a somewhat satisfactory economic basis, and the land available for settlement is limited.

I have suggested to the British Government that they might well consider saying to any overseas Government or any responsible corporation, that they will give £1,000 per family to any corporation that will undertake to settle people. It seems to me you would cut your losses in two that way.

"Oh," say the wiseacres of finance, "You don't understand. It is not so simple as that, Commissioner. You don't understand. That isn't all." Well, it seems £1,000

is just half of £2,000, and after we go around and pay £2,000, we are no further forward, and if a man were producing he would be getting along so it would not be so much. Perhaps you will come and help.

I would like to have spoken of a report from the International Labour Office, about the density of population in relation to unemployment and access to raw materials, but the lesson is there. From an exhaustive report made, they point out that Japan with a density of population about equal to Belgium, parallel with Belgium, and with the south of England just as thick as they well can be, they have had a lower rate of unemployment than the States with their access to all the raw materials. They point out also that the Scandinavian countries, with no colonies, have had a comparatively low rate of unemployment, whereas Holland and England, with access to colonies have a fairly high rate. I don't know—it is very interesting and those of you who are interested should study that report.

Now, as they affect Canada. We have been out West. The West of course are much more—what shall I say?—optimistic than you are down here. I don't know whether it is the effect of Montreal or Quebec, or the States, or what it is. Let me say here, I was greatly touched by the feeling of appreciation expressed in Saskatchewan for the gifts that come from Ontario—out of all proportion, I think, to what they cost you is the good will that has followed the carloads of stuff that have gone from here—that you didn't know what to do with. Never mind, it is more blessed to give than to receive, and I tell you the Saskatchewan people appreciated that gesture—it was more than a gesture.

Now, political power. I came first to Canada in 1903. The people were pouring in, and I have been coming and going ever since. I have been over this Continent from end to end oftener than I like to think of. I am glad that at last you have air-conditioned carriages. They make a tremendous difference when you spend day after day

and night after night as I have done on the train. You see, the people were pouring into the West and everybody, except Ontario and Quebec accepted the idea that political power was going to shift from the east and lie in the west. That dream hasn't been realized. The war came and stopped it and I think they are now looking to Ontario. The government of Canada is going to come from Ontario—let us say if you are wise and if you behave yourselves and get some vision.

I haven't yet finished. We are going down east. I understand there are some empty homesteads. I have seen them, I have been there before. You haven't had the sense to replenish the stock. If it were horses or cattle or pigs or sheep you would have taken steps to replenish the stock, but you have let the old homesteads there go, and as I say, you haven't had the sense to do it. Well, it is true. Isn't that right?

HON. P. M. DEWAN: Yes.

COMMISSIONER LAMB: The Canadian people are now confronted with a dual problem of considerable magnitude, of some complexity and of great importance. The solution is vital to her future well-being. In seeking for the solution there are two conflicting schools of thought.

First, there are those who would not have immigration until the existing unemployed in the Dominion are absorbed.

Secondly, there are those who see in an orderly and organized movement, not only a further development of the Dominion's resources but in that very movement a valuable contribution to the solution of the existing unemployment problem.

This group is divided into two: Those who advocate a restricted movement—infiltrationists they might be termed. The other, those who see the potential population of a rich country like Canada not limited by its natural resources, but by the statesmanship, or the lack of it, of its rulers and the craftsmanship of its workmen.

There are some factors in the situation common to both

schools of thought. Let us examine them. None want immigrants dumped in the Dominion and none want unsuitable people sent. In this connection as one who having interests and experience in both immigration and emigration, let me say that I know of no organization that wants to dump people and perhaps equally important, I don't know of any people who want to be dumped. Sober and sincere people should cease to talk in such terms. No one wants to do anything which would aggravate the unemployment problem.

There seems to be a consensus of opinion that any new movement should be so regulated in respect of racial origins that there would be no danger of the Canadian standards of living being adversely affected and particularly her ethical standards should not be lowered.

During my recent investigations I have been forced to the conclusion that nothing can take the place of an old and well tried colonization principle, namely the bringing together of idle lands, idle capital and idle labour. And this leads me to at once offer the following observations in this connection:

That we need to take the long view. After all, fifty or one hundred years is not much in the lifetime of a nation.

I think that true statesmanship might lie in the contemplation of large sums of money in Empire development and on a basis which might shock the financial purists and certain schools of economists. I cannot forget that during the past twenty years the British Isles have spent £2,000,000,000 in the endowment of idleness and I cannot but feel that we might well consider the expenditure of £1,000,000,000 in some adventure that would offer better results than the spiritual demoralization which has followed the expenditure to which I have referred. I know it has been said it may be the lesser of two evils—I am not so sure—in any case it does not alter the fact.

I believe that the necessary capital could be found for any well considered scheme of development. In any such

scheme as I visualize I consider that the individual settler must not be too heavily loaded with debt; and repayments should have relationship to the settler's ability to pay rather than to the cost of his transplantation. In regard to the transportation costs, I think that within the Empire they might be equated on the principle of the carriage of letters.

So far as immigration to Canada is concerned the question is one entirely for the Canadian people. If they have come to the conclusion that they have reached the stage in their development when they have no more room for immigrants, then I suppose no one will gainsay them, unless it be Hitler or Mussolini, or the militant forces of Japan, or it may be in the peaceful penetration of the kindly and peace loving Chinese.

As a Salvationist I am international. But even as a Scot I am ready to admit that there are other nations who have some right to the good things of the earth.

Now, in regard to the future, in regard to what I call the common sense humanities of the present world situation. I am not very much concerned with what the language is, whether it be English or Welsh or French or something that is neither Canadian or Scotch, but a mixture of both, if the civilization rests on righteousness and carries forward this spirit which has made us great and a belief in the freedom of the individual, there shall I say, rests the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race? I don't know. I am not a revolutionary, nor do I care to rest on natural selection. I would like to see us recapture some of the creative energy which has made us great. I am not called upon at this stage anyhow, to provide a solution for the problem I have referred to.

In conclusion, what can I say? I got a phrase in the west—Where do we go from here? It tickled me. We were discussing some things and—"Where do we go from here?" said one man. Well, in approaching conclusions and determining your line of action, there is the moral and spiritual issue which transcends all others, and I would

remind you that there is an ethical principle you cannot afford to ignore in any of your relationships, be they family, trade, municipal, national, Empire, or international. It simplifies all our problems. What is that ethical principle? In all reverence let me quote the words of our Master, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for that is the law and the prophets."

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Commissioner Lamb, the Salvation Army has left us something today and we greatly appreciate your acceptance of our invitation and the address you have given us. You have aroused our interest in this subject of population problems and may we in Canada help in their solution. Please accept from me, on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada, our Guests, and the radio audience, our grateful thanks.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

PROBLEMS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY MR. GRAHAM HUTTON

Thursday, December 2nd, 1937.

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: The subject of our address today, "The Problem of the British Empire" could very easily be changed to "World Problems," not that Britain has caused these problems but rather that they have been thrust upon her. Britain has been a great teacher of democracy but, unfortunately, some countries have been stubborn pupils. The solution of these problems would be world wide in its benefits and we are most fortunate in having today as our guest speaker, one so well qualified to discuss this important subject. Mr. Graham Hutton is a graduate of the London School of Economics and has taken special studies at Bordeaux and Heidelberg Universities. His has been an early rise to prominence as editor, author and speaker. His scholastic honours are many and his mastery of the French and German languages has been an invaluable aid to him during his frequent tours of the countries of Europe. As an assistant Editor of *The Economist*, a paper embracing the financial and economic affairs of every country in the world his reasoning and opinions are much sought after and bear great weight with students of international affairs.

I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Graham Hutton, our guest speaker, who will address us on "The Problems of the British Empire." Mr. Hutton.

MR. GRAHAM HUTTON: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: It is a great honour to me and also a great pleasure to be invited to address you today. I have learned that not all honours are pleasures and not all pleasures are honours; but this is one which has almost a synonymous ring.

I wish to divide the subject today into three parts—political, strategic and economic. The political problems of the British Empire, the strategic problems of the British Empire and the economic problems of the British Empire.

You have just heard the Chairman say that the subject might equally well have been called "The Problems of the World" because it is almost impossible to consider one major problem of the world today that does not at some point or other touch the British Empire.

First, then, as to the political problems. In the last 35 years, for the whole of this century, the world has been changing politically, strategically, and economically. The British Empire has changed with the world. Some of those changes in the British Empire have been extremely erratic. The Empire today is not what a person in 1900 would have recognized as the British Empire. Constitutionally, economically, it has changed considerably. The world has changed around it; so its political, economic and strategic problems are not the same as they were in 1900.

Let us consider for one moment the political, the constitutional situation of the British Empire today. Since Joe Chamberlain listed Dominion securities under the Trustee Act, the whole British Empire has developed in a way that was impossible to foresee when Joe Chamberlain himself took that step. In the first place we have autonomous nations, practically for the first time in history, autonomous nations linked by one common bond, a sentimental bond; a bond which finds no actual constitutional basis, or legal basis; but a bond, nevertheless, which makes the British Empire, not an Empire administered from one center but a collection, and perhaps some foreigners would say a heterogeneous collection of nations; some of them entirely independent, some of them, like India, not so independent; others not at all independent, but dependent upon London. Yet, this mass of nations and of peoples has one common outlook upon the world, one common attitude; and the world itself, changing so rapidly, politically and economically, has to reckon with the views of the vast mass of

British people scattered all over its continents, a mass of people who constitutionally and legally have no centralized administration. That is a problem to which I want to address myself for the first few minutes.

The world is in an extremely parlous condition today; and yet there is no organ for the British Empire to produce a foreign policy, *as an Empire*. There are channels for producing a foreign policy. There are methods of taking a united front or united action in view of great dangers; but there is no constitutional or legal basis for the Empire to act as an Empire. In fact, the word "Empire" is a misnomer to the British Empire, as it is so called by most foreigners. It is a Commonwealth of Nations. As a Commonwealth, it has no Commonwealth Government. Having no Commonwealth Government, and possessing at the same time many means for producing a policy, it lands itself sometimes in considerable difficulties. One of those difficulties faces us today, the difficulty of foreign policy; the difficulty of what policy should be produced to deal with a situation where the issues are as vital as peace or war. Yes, as I say, this Empire has no unified, centralized administration on whose shoulders you would expect to rest the responsibility for developing a unified foreign policy.

Now, the political development of the Empire, to my mind, has been over rapid in a world which was itself rapidly developing. I don't want that phrase to be misunderstood. I don't want to suggest that the British Empire and the Dominions should not have had complete Dominion autonomy. That, as you know, is the view of several "last ditchers" in the home country; but they are a very, very small minority. Yet, recognizing the development that the Dominions have made, I think we must also recognize the difficulties we have to face because of this rapid development.

Now, it is said, and said rightly, that the only link which constitutionally binds the independent or autonomous dominions of the Empire is the link of the Crown. That is

perfectly correct. There still remain several vestigial links of the old centralized Empire administration. These links are being lopped off gradually. But the only real, the only effective link left is the link with the Crown. Now, the link with the Crown is a link which provides a basis; a sentimental, affectual basis for the Empire; but it does not provide a machinery; it does not provide the means of consultation; it does not provide by itself the method for developing a particular policy at a particular moment. All that is left is the flashing of the telegraph wires or, perhaps today, of the telephone and of the radio. That is all we have as an apparatus of Empire, an Empire composed of independent nations in their development and in their relationships with foreign countries; these nations act independently from London. You have a vast mass of the Empire which is administered, the colonial Empire, where London can make a decision for that Empire. As far as Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are concerned, others immediately take their own policies; and by some process of trial and error or rule of thumb, one evolves an Imperial policy.

The first point, therefore, which I wish to stress in this political section is that the world outside the British Empire is not allowing the British Empire to stand still or to sit back. Decisions have to be taken in every single Dominion,—Decisions with regard to the strategic and with regard to the economic problems that face both the world and the Empire.

I want to emphasize this problem because in England, in Canada here, in Australia, in South Africa, the most eager and the most preoccupied and anxious minds are now engaged in trying to find a way by which the independence of the Dominions may be guaranteed for the future and the integrity of the Empire, the Commonwealth, at the same time may be guaranteed. That is a very great responsibility; and it is a great difficulty for the Commonwealth, like ourselves, that our responsibilities are at present divided. A division of responsibility at a time like this is

an extremely difficult thing to have to shoulder. At some point or other, say, for instance, the Mediterranean, or the Far East, a question will arise, in the realm of foreign policy or in the realm of economics, where decisions must be taken for the Commonwealth. We, in the Commonwealth of Nations are, I think, still in the transitional period; and we shall not see the Commonwealth of Nations which live under the British flag in exactly the same constitutional and legal situation twenty-five years hence as we see them today, just the same as today, they are not as people would have seen them in the year 1900.

Now, the developments in the world politically in the last fifteen years have brought home to many Britishers in the United Kingdom the importance of this point, that I was just making; because, over 22 miles of water, events have been happening on the Continent of Europe, and 12,500 miles away in the Far East events have also been happening, which have a direct reference both to the security and welfare of the whole British Commonwealth of Nations.

I make the transition here to the strategic factor.

It is impossible to look at the Mediterranean or at the Far East today without being impressed by the gravity of the dangers that hang over the whole Commonwealth of Nations. I use these words advisedly because there is a disposition, not only in British countries, but in many other countries in Europe as well, to think that world history takes place outside the ambit of men's decisions, that a force which sits above human affairs directs the human affairs themselves.

Now, that may be true religiously; it may be true philosophically; but in the realm of politics nothing takes place that is not the decision of some man, or some men, somewhere; and there is a disposition, I say, to think that anything may happen from various quarters of the globe and all one need do is sit down and hope for the best. I venture to think that is a very dangerous thing for the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to do. The de-

velopments in the world during the last six years—one need not go back farther than that—the developments in the world during the last six years have been such that no British citizen anywhere in the globe can feel very comfortable about the implications of those happenings.

I want to spend a little time in this strategic section on two spheres of influence: one, the Mediterranean, and, two, the Far East. Let me take the Mediterranean first. It has often been said, it has been said by a British Cabinet Minister of the United Kingdom, that the Mediterranean is a vital artery of British commerce and a vital artery, indeed, of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I believe that to be a slight but pardonable exaggeration. I don't think the Mediterranean is exactly *the* vital artery; I believe it is *a* vital artery, but I don't think it is *the* vital artery of the Commonwealth of Nations.

I think, for example, it would be possible if the Mediterranean became a theatre of war, for the British completely to evacuate the Mediterranean. I think it would be possible in that contingency for the British Isles to be provisioned, supplied with all the things they need, irrespective of the route that goes through the Mediterranean. My reasons for thinking that are these: In the first place the amount of extra time necessitated by sending the large British mercantile fleet around the Cape of Good Hope is a matter of 11 or 12 days, on the average. If one is envisaging a catastrophe so great as another European war, the adding of twelve days to the time required to provision the British Isles is not a very great difficulty. If your positioning of the mercantile fleet takes place twelve days before war breaks out, then you are fairly safe in assuming your supplies to the British Isles will be as regular as they were before. It is possible to redistribute your mercantile shipping in such a way as to be sure that every day your supplies will be received in the United Kingdom, and received in South Africa, here, or wherever it may be. The disposition, however, to think of the Mediterranean as being an absolutely vital artery, one might say the carotid

artery, is, I think, exaggerated. It has led to the unfortunate impression on the Continent of Europe that anything could be done by anybody in the Mediterranean, and the Government of His Majesty in the United Kingdom would be prepared to knuckle down, or retreat, or put up with any kind of nonsense.

Now, that is, I think, a fallacy. I think it is a dangerous fallacy and I think to encourage that fallacy is to encourage those forces that are in fact making the Continent of Europe the possible theatre of another outbreak of aggression. I use these serious words advisedly, because I am impressed with the amount of vague generalities which are put out in press communiqués, both from democratic governments and totalitarian governments; I think it is high time this "sublime mysticism and nonsense" were ended; that we should face things exactly as they are, both in the Commonwealth and in Europe today; and, in fact, that one should speak one's mind.

The Mediterranean is an important interest for Great Britain but, on the other hand, there are equally important interests of other parties in the Mediterranean. To my mind the threat to French communications with North Africa is infinitely more serious for the whole European situation and therefore for the United Kingdom than is the threat to the British trade route through the length of the Mediterranean.

Now, various alarmists have seen fit to think that Signor Mussolini and those responsible for military and political policy in Italy would like to challenge French and British forces in the Mediterranean and their communications. Well, let us assume the worst. Let us assume that that is what is likely to happen. Viewing the situation as we can already view it today, in the first place, Italy has given great hostages to fortune in Spain, in Ethiopia, in Libya, in the Balearic Islands. She has concluded agreements with Jugoslavia on the other side. And despite everything that has been said and published, Italy is still the one power that will lose most if Germany comes down through Central

Europe and over-runs Austria or absorbs Austria, Czechoslovakia and other Central European countries. That being so, I don't think one need be so alarmed. For that matter, I don't think one need be so bluffed by the amount of Italian propaganda which one is compelled to hear or see in one country or another.

Let us, then, think that the British fleet has evacuated the Mediterranean. On what issues are the great decisions likely to be taken in Europe and in the Mediterranean? If Italy is a threat to France's communications, France and Great Britain are equally a great threat to Italy's communications along the Mediterranean, round Spain and Ethiopia and the Balearic Islands, and so forth.

Then, supposing the Mediterranean be completely evacuated, the important point in anything like a future European war is going to be the economic lasting power of the countries concerned. Now, the economic lasting power of the United Kingdom I do not see threatened by anything which may happen in the Mediterranean. I may be wrong. I speak subject to correction from those who can prove the contrary; but I do not see the possibility of Great Britain's lasting power in any European war being damaged by what may happen in the Mediterranean.

I can see various real problems and difficulties that will arise as they arose by the million in the last war. I do not see that those difficulties that arise from the Mediterranean alone are such as to shorten the lasting capacity of Great Britain. So much, then, for the Mediterranean.

Let us look at the Far East. There, the situation to my mind and contrary, perhaps, to common belief, is infinitely more serious than in the Mediterranean.

You see in your newspapers this morning that a large force of Japanese soldiers has been landed on an island a little to the south of Hong Kong. The Chinese National Government in the last few years have very greatly developed the internal communications of China. The most important of those communications has been the completion of a railway leading from Hankow down to Canton

and, naturally, around Canton to Hong Kong. Now, if Japan and China continue to fight this undeclared war and this undeclared war (or undeclared peace, whatever you like to call it,) goes on *ad infinitum*, it is obviously to the advantage of Japan to try to cut China's only outlet to the trading world, the world which supplies China with the only means that China can command for carrying on the war. After the seizure of Shanghai the only gateway, practically, that remains open is a British gate, Hong Kong; from Hong Kong around Canton; then by this railway up to Hankow.

You have seen in your papers that the Chinese Government has said it will retire from Nanking to Hankow. It will retire *ad infinitum*, but if it is to retire it has to provision itself also, after its strategic retreat. How can it provision itself if it cannot get goods through Hong Kong, which is British territory? There is a threat, not so much to the immediate strategical security of the British Empire at Hong Kong, but there is a threat to the *economic* security of the British Empire at Hong Kong; and there is a threat to the economic security of quite a considerable amount of the population of Great Britain. For that matter, quite a considerable amount of the population of the United States and no doubt of Canada and other countries.

If we can accept the comfortable doctrine that Japan will become progressively more involved upon the Asiatic plainland and proceed further and further in a hornet's nest, and be finally swallowed by a culture infinitely older than her own and by a people five times as numerous, no doubt we should be warranted in sitting back and looking at these things with a kind of remote comfort, a kind of equanimity which I think is not at all warranted. The position as I see it in the Far East is that Japan is travelling very far toward an authoritarian state, such as that of Russia, Germany and Italy and to the extent that she goes along this road will she inherit the difficulties of Russia, Germany and Italy, that is to say an irresponsible government, a government which is not responsible to the elec-

torate, a government which has to justify both its prestige and achievements by reference to some great and world shattering event of policy.

Now, we are told that the question of saving face and indeed of making up face is more important in the Orient than in the Occident. If that is so and Japan looks like losing face in the Far East, then I think we have to reckon with a continuance of trouble, irrespective of how Japan is involved in the Asiatic plainland.

Now, we are spending something like 11 to 12 million pounds on the Port of Singapore. Singapore is supposed to be one of the two nodal points in the defences of the entire British Commonwealth. It affects Australia, it affects New Zealand, it affects French Indo-China, it affects the Netherlands, the East Indies, Borneo and New Guinea, it affects British India. If one loses the trade of Hong Kong which I may say in passing is twenty-five times as large as British imports into Hong Kong, because Hong Kong deals with the hinterland, if one loses the trade with the hinterland through Hong Kong, if one is forced as it were to retire back to one's best prepared defences, the only defence the British Commonwealth can retire to is Singapore. When you get to that point you get to a dangerous situation in world politics, because you have retired to a point at which you are prepared, presumably, to fight. I am thinking there in terms of preparation for war and not just preparations for diplomatic negotiations, however abrupt and rude they may be.

Now, as I see the situation today, the Government of the United Kingdom are quite rightly refusing to accept the responsibility for taking any warlike decision. They are, as it seems, saying to the world and to themselves, there are three or four totalitarian, authoritarian, irresponsible governments in the world. Upon their shoulders let the responsibility rest for taking the decision which may plunge the world into a much greater disaster than that which overtook it twenty-three years ago. But meanwhile, we look

to our moat, we keep our powder dry, we prepare as best we can the strategic line to which to fall back.

That is a policy which I think every one of us must applaud in the present deplorable situation. It would be not only paradoxical, it would be tragic if the responsible government of a democracy at this stage were to overstep the balance of sanity and force the irresponsible people of the world into launching a catastrophe upon us. But that is a negative policy. Something more is required, something positive is required for the whole Commonwealth.

You will see at this point I am linking up what I said at the beginning, on the political side, with what I have since said on the strategical side. I think those minds best fitted for it must engage at once in considering what united Commonwealth decisions can be taken to safeguard the strategic, the economic, indeed, the territorial security of the Commonwealth of Nations. It is slowly being done, of course; being done through what the newspapers call "the usual channels." But the usual channels, I venture to think, may not be sufficiently wide to carry the amount of traffic required at this time. I think unusual channels may be required; and I would do no more than leave that hint with you. Perhaps the situation in the world has already got to such a point that, for the Commonwealth as a whole, it would be well to "look to the moat" of the Commonwealth as a whole; not just to the European policy, supposed to lie within the ambit of the United Kingdom; not just to the Far East, supposed to lie within the ambit of the United Kingdom, the Australian and New Zealand Governments; and so forth.

I come to the final division of my subject, the economic. It is, of course, impossible to separate out so easily the political, the strategic and the economic aspects of a problem. Never, I suppose, in the last 25 years have political, strategic and economic factors been so intertwined and interdependent. But one of the things which must impress all of us viewing the post war world since the peace settlement until today, is the mutual aggravation and con-

flict of economic and political factors. As fast as something was done sensibly on the economic plane, something nonsensical was done upon the political plane; and that destroyed the achievement on the economic plane. As fast as something was accomplished on the political plane, then a whole crowd of nations raised tariffs or started to impede the natural flow of international commerce, and what resulted was political aggression, the creation of very large vested interests, vested interests not only of capital but of labour in regulating wages, in regulating unions' hours; and so forth in every country, regulations of crops, regulation of this, that and the other. The smaller the countries, like the countries in central Europe where the depression first broke, the worse the depression. The economic nationalism ever since the war has gone ahead so fast, has expanded so extensively, that it is almost impossible today to say to an economist, "Give me a purely economic judgment upon this question." There is practically no possibility of getting a purely economic judgment on any question. The budgets, agriculture, foreign trade, industrial production, wages, hours, all these things, inflation, deflation and so forth, are decided as much, if not more, upon political grounds than upon purely economic grounds.

All this having taken place in every country, in small countries like Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and in the larger countries like the United Kingdom, or Canada, the United States and so forth, it has been practically impossible to view the development in the political world apart from the development in the economic world at the same time. I say that because the problems which face our Commonwealth today on the economic side are in themselves political problems.

I suppose it would be no exaggeration to say that the greatest problem facing the democratic nations is the problem of their mutual commercial relationships. There is no great gulf politically between democracies. They agree from fundamental principles to refrain from interference

in other people's policies. Every fellow democracy lets the other fellow go his own way in the political sphere. But they *do* interfere on the economic plane. There are the difficulties I spoke about a moment ago; of the crops to be grown this year or next, the amount of dairy products or meat allowed into the United Kingdom. These questions, on which decisions were taken originally for political reasons, also work out in fellow democracies to their disadvantage. Consequently, for the last ten years or more, democracies in the name of self-determination have been taking decisions on the economic side which were definitely harmful to fellow democracies.

That, of course, has provided the dictatorships with a large stick wherewith to beat the democracies, and at the same time a splendid argument for pointing out how chaotic and anarchic a democratic government in the world really is.

Now, I think it is high time, as the economists of the world ten years ago unanimously thought, we should reverse this trend toward self-sufficiency and autocracy and regulation of this, that and the other, in the economic sphere; and if we are to beat a retreat in the political sphere, beat a retreat also in the economic sphere. Let us retreat from this absurd economic doctrine that one's own standard of living rises highest when one shuts off the other fellow's goods from one's own market.

I seem to see welcome signs in my country that this doctrine is gaining ground very fast. I see welcome signs in the United States that those people who voted for the Hawley-Smoot Tariff in 1930 are discretely silent about the working of that tariff ever since. I have heard people who acknowledged that they voted for the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in 1930 say they "wish the darned thing had never gone through."

Well, there are plenty of impediments to the flow of world commerce which we also in the British Commonwealth have directed in the name of our own autonomy. We have made agreements like the agreements in the

United Kingdom called "gentlemen's agreements" to shut out a certain amount of production that the working people of the United Kingdom could ill afford to shut out. In that way we have injured not only the Dominion producers but the producers of the primary products and food-stuffs of many democratic nations, principally, of course, of the Scandinavian nations.

It is possible at the present moment to distinguish two main influences working in world economics. One is the old, old influence; an influence which is inherent in our individualistic, our private capitalistic system. That is the influence for bringing nations together and forcing them to specialize more and more upon their particular advantages. That is what I would call the international influence. I say it is absolutely inseparable from the private capitalistic system, because it rests upon the old international division of labour and specialization of function. If you are to turn back on that and go backward, you go to the medieval autonomy and the authoritarian state, and everything that means to men of property and workers in the economic system of the state.

On the other hand there is a second influence; and that influence, of course, is the authoritarian. So, both on the economic plane and on the political plane, the two influences are working out.

Now, it is my worry and anxiety as the months and years go by, as the armament race increases in velocity, that the minds of statesmen and governors are less inclined to look upon the normal channels of commerce and more inclined to look upon the abnormal, extraordinary measures which are necessary to get armaments going, or to balance budgets which are inherently unbalanceable. If that sort of thing goes on, then I very much fear even the democracies will be driven—the Dominions as much as the United Kingdom, and also as much as the United States and any other democracy in the world—they will all be driven to adopt economic measures which in principle are the same as

those adopted by the totalitarian states, both of the right and of the left.

That may seem an alarming or paradoxical statement. As I said, in principle they are the same. In degree they may not be the same. It may still be possible, for instance, for the business man to be guaranteed at least a little profit as he is guaranteed in Germany and in Italy. But as time progresses, and if we have peace and not war, then the longer this influence for self-sufficiency goes on in democracies, the more the democracies are driven toward the authoritarian, economic system. You can see evidences, plenty of them, in the United Kingdom. You can see evidences in France, in Scandinavia and so forth. But if that principle is allowed to go ahead unchecked, then it will not be to the advantage of business men; it will not be to the advantage of the workers; and it will not be to the advantage in the end of political democracies, because it is quite impossible to run a democracy with an economic autocracy. The two things are not bed-fellows; and it would be extremely bad for the whole state if such an experiment were attempted.

Now, what can be done? What is being done, in the first place, is, I think, encouraging. You saw in your papers a little while ago that the United Kingdom Government and the United States Government are negotiating an Anglo-American Trade Treaty. I think that is the most important piece of news I have heard—and I judge it both politically and economically—in the last three or four years. It is capable of an infinite amount of good. It is capable of that amount of good irrespective of the effect upon the volume of trade passing between those two countries.

I welcome that news for this reason, mainly, because it does exemplify this trend toward a wider international organization on the economic plane. If we do not have that wider economic organization, then the British Empire as a whole is not wide enough. Look at the figures for the amount of the various primary products raised in our

British Commonwealth. Look at the figures for the amount of trade between British countries and the trade between the British countries and foreign countries. The whole Empire as a whole has an export surplus. The whole Empire as a whole is a creditor at the same time. How are you going to reconcile things like this with the development of a self-sufficiency program? Above all, how are you going to reconcile that when the whole world is developing politically at such a rate that it seems to be heading for the abyss? I venture to think a move like the Anglo-American Trade Agreement move is the first sign of glimmering economic intelligence since 1927. In 1927, you remember, the economic delegations of every single nation represented at Geneva, without exception, said that the time had come for a halt in the rising tariffs and for a move in the opposite direction. That was ten years ago. Even since then the move has only been in the other direction. Every conceivable kind of obstacle has been raised in international trade, and plenty of obstacles have been raised even within the British Commonwealth of Nations itself. If it is done inside the British Commonwealth, it is a pretty poor lookout for the democratic nations that remain outside.

Of course the final question is: how hopeful is such a development, and on how much can one rely? I think one can rely on quite a good deal at the present juncture. There are obvious strategic, financial, economic and political reasons why an Anglo-American Trade Agreement should be whole-heartedly applauded. There are also various economic reasons why it should not stop there. After all, the most favoured nation clause is still in existence. As far as we are concerned, it is mainly unconditional; and that means a good deal of the concessions made on every side must be generalized over the realm of the countries with which we have treaties that contain this M.F.N. clause. It is possible to view that with a certain amount of encouragement because, as you can see in the statistics of every single democratic country, the economic

and financial position is not particularly rosy. It looks as if there will be a certain amount of recession in the world as a whole. It looks as if there will be a break in world commodity prices. It looks as if the rearmament race must be kept going at all cost. We are building up there a very large vested interest in a peck of trouble, for a later date. What is going to happen if peace comes? That is the real question. Not if war comes. If war comes we know what we are in for. We are in for inflation. If peace comes, what are we going to do when the rearmament boom is over?

The only way to deal with that is to build up the international buffer of trade, on as wide a front as possible. The only realm in which that can be worked in is the realm of the still relatively free democracies. Among that I place the leading great powers in the democratic world, the United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I am sorry if I have appeared pessimistic here and there; but, fundamentally, I believe that the history of the next 25 years is still lying within human hands to accomplish. Those human hands, I hope, will be British hands. I thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Hutton, it has been said of you that you are extremely well-informed on political and foreign affairs, that your suggestions concerning the future would be extraordinarily interesting, all of which we have found, indeed, very true.

We thank you for making this long trip here to address us and we thank you for your splendid address on the subject, "The Problems of the British Empire," which is so much on the minds of the members of the Empire Club of Canada.

The meeting is adjourned.

THE FAMILY LIFE OF BIG BUSINESS

AN ADDRESS BY JAMES E. KAVANAGH

Thursday, December 9th, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: In appraising Canada's exports and Canada's contribution to the world, we should not overlook her native sons and daughters. In every walk of life, in every country, we find Canadians who through their ability are at the head of their professions and callings and life insurance has been no exception. It is interesting to read while walking down Wall Street in New York the tablets to the memory of one, Morris Robinson, a native of Nova Scotia who was the first President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and established the business of modern life insurance on this continent in 1843.

Today we welcome home to his native province Mr. James E. Kavanagh, the First Vice-President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York. Mr. Kavanagh received his early education in the public and high schools of this Province and has been connected with the Metropolitan Life in almost every capacity since 1897. As the executive in charge of his Company's group division which, I believe, includes life and accident, health and annuity groups, he is in constant touch with the problems of capital and labour, major problems as well as very minor problems and he has become a leading authority on this all-important subject of today, the relationship between employer and employee. I have much pleasure in introducing to the members of the Empire Club of Canada, our guests and the radio audience, Mr. James E. Kavanagh. The subject of his address is "The Family Life of Big Business." Mr. Kavanagh.

(Applause.)

MR. JAMES E. KAVANAGH: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It was with some reluctance on my part that I decided to accept your kind invitation to come here and address this Empire Club and it is with a good deal of timidity on my part that I even now attempt to address you. Your flattering introduction leads me to think that my audience will expect something perhaps unusual in the way of my remarks.

It is true I have had an opportunity the past twenty odd years to make rather intimate contacts with executive officers of various business houses with whom we are doing business and those contacts have led me to acquire a considerable knowledge of the problems that confront these executives in the carrying on of their various enterprises.

Being in the life insurance business and human lives being the raw commodity with which we have to deal, naturally my mind turns to the affairs of the individuals in the business houses, rather than to the dollars or the material side of the various enterprises.

We are hearing much these days about industrial relations. Work used to be very largely conducted in and around the homes. You are all familiar with the fact, however, that when steam was turned into practical use through the use of the steam engine that work gradually was weaned away from the household and taken into other places, usually cities and towns and there in our factories and mills and warehouses and workshops today the work is conducted on a large scale that used to be very largely conducted in the homes. No longer do we have any canning of vegetables, of fruits, have curing of meats, have laundry work, have much cooking or baking, have manufacturing of drugs, of clothing, and the hundreds of other things that used to be done in the home, such as spinning and carding and weaving. Those have all left home and they have been lured away and taken a new place of residence. When Work left home and went out into the big world it changed its name. It got married to Capital and

called itself Industry. But it means work, just the same. The fact that work changed its name didn't in any way change the characters of the people that did the work. Men and women today are just about the same as they always were and while they no longer carry on their work in one small home or in the vicinity of one small home and do carry on in a large home where hundreds and sometimes thousands of workers are, there needs to be in those homes conditions prevailing which are the ideal conditions you find in the best managed households of our land.

Men and women like to be happy. Unfortunately, in these two countries of ours, Canada and the United States, we have had such an abundance of raw material and we have had such an abundance of raw material in the shape of immigrants coming to our shores that our business leaders have not always had to give much time to the human factor that entered into the conduct of their various business enterprises. Since the war, however, there has been quite a change take place in both these countries. Now, instead of immigrants coming in we have had periods when we have had immigrants going out, when there have actually been more people going out of our country than there have been coming in. This scarcity of human labour has had an effect upon the leaders of industry. It has made many of these pause and stop and look and listen and give thought to ways and means by which men and women can be kept pleased and satisfied. The labour turnover that obtained in both these countries a few years ago has rapidly changed. It was not at all an uncommon thing for a manufacturing firm employing, say, one thousand hands to actually hire one or two thousand new people during a year in order to keep those jobs filled. That was known in industry as labour turnover.

I say this cessation of immigrants coming to our shores has forced leaders of industry to pause and ascertain what, if possible, could be done to reduce this very great economic waste in the constant turnover of the men and women that

enter into the various enterprises concerned. Raw hands, unskilled hands produce material that is sometimes known as seconds. Sometimes materials are produced that are of no use, sometimes destroying machinery or tools, involving much time in the way of supervision and education on the part of the foreman and so there has gradually stolen over these two countries a new outlook on industry, and when I say industry I include all lines of human activity such as manufactures, merchandising, education, transportation, mining and many others of a like kind, there has arisen in the United States and Canada a school of men who make their living by undertaking to teach business how to keep men and women satisfied, how to keep them on the job. To me it seems rather a simple thing as it does to most people who have given any thought to it. The large business house is nothing more nor less than the small home, much increased in size. There we find men and women presided over by foremen, by section heads, by departmental heads, by general managers, by officers, and if those men and women are to give to the industry with which they are identified the best services that they can give they must have the man happy and contented.

The man is a sort of four-sided individual. There is the physical side of him, there is the mental side, there is the social side, and there is the sentimental side. It may help our thinking if we will just pause long enough to consider those things. You keep a man or woman physically fit, in fine fettle, free from aches and pains, free from accident or the hazard of accident, and you have gone a considerable way toward making that man or woman more nearly one hundred per cent. efficient. You take the same man and keep him mentally alert, stimulate his thinking along right lines, give him an increased knowledge of what he is doing or give him an increased knowledge of other things outside what he is immediately doing and you have a more nearly satisfied man than you otherwise would have. You have him growing in knowledge, his mental capacity

is enlarging and he is developing into a more valuable citizen and a more valuable employee for the particular corporation with which he is identified. You take the same man or woman, (I use the word 'man' including both) give him social advantages, give him some fun, give him a chance to have a good time and you have gone a long way toward making him still better as an employee. He is much more satisfied and undoubtedly much more efficient in the particular corporation. Then, go one step further and give him an opportunity to gratify his sentimental desires. Most of us work not for ourselves alone but for those we love. Most of us have wives and mothers and sisters and children, dear ones we are working for, and we would like to gratify our sentimental feelings toward them by providing them with opportunities and privileges and comforts such as we think they need and desire. If we can give a worker the opportunity to gratify those sentimental longings and feelings we will go a long way again to having the man still further satisfied and efficient.

If you will keep in mind those four phases of the worker you will, as we go along, see how industry today is catering to each other in its effort to build up a solid, contented, satisfied and efficient machine, because that is what an industry is. There are mechanical machines, of course, made of steel and iron and fabrics of other kinds, but they are useless without the human machine and the human machine, tied together like a big bee-hive, must be in harmony and working together and anything that detracts from that is a retarding, expensive influence. That is being recognized by business houses today and somebody has called that particular activity of satisfying these human needs the humanics of business, contrasted with the mechanics of business. The mechanics of business is getting the raw material to the finished product and to the ultimate consumer as quickly and economically as possible. The humanics of business is the study of ways and means to keep men and women happy and satisfied and efficient.

There is much criticism being levelled today against many employers of labour and if we would listen to it all and take it seriously there would be times when we would be inclined to think that these countries are terrible countries in which to work. If you listen to some of the street orators and some of the other people who are always ready to harp and criticize it would impress you that there certainly are better countries in which we could live than Canada and the United States.

I would like to turn our attention this afternoon, if I might, to some of the things which will indicate that things aren't quite as serious as others would have us believe them to be.

Take the physical side of the man. It may interest you to know that in the United States and Canada there are hundreds, yes, there are thousands of corporations that have well-defined, clear cut, definite programs of industrial relations. They have officers, or if they are not officers they are officials whose duty it is to look after the physical well-being of the employees and we find such things as annual medical examinations. Any number of plants have their own doctors. In many instances doctors are engaged full time for the particular care of their own employees. They are medically examined when they are engaged to work; they are medically examined when they show the slightest need of care in the hands of a physician. Many of them have their nurses, many have their own hospitals and rest rooms where they have equipment to give first aid and services to the employee, should he get sick or meet with an accident.

But there is much more than that. Those are remedial steps that are available. There are the steps that are taken to prevent the need of a doctor. Prevention is better than cure, so we find very extensive, comprehensive and complete physical programmes operating today in our best managed institutions. There are playgrounds for the men and women, gymnasiums, locker rooms, athletic organizations,

hired leaders to organize and train the men and women in their various physical exercises.

We find the employers are very quick and keen to take every advantage to prevent accidents. The men and women are guarded against accidents and it is the boast of some concerns that they will go for a year or two years without a major accident. Prizes are awarded between various trade associations to those houses or those manufacturing concerns that can carry on their business with a minimum number of accidents. Safety courses are inaugurated and much is done in the way of training the people to protect themselves against the hazards of their particular industry. Industry carries not only a hazard of physical accident but a much more serious risk that is known as industrial diseases. There are today many diseases that arise through the peculiar nature of the business enterprise. One of the most important today that is causing more concern than any other is that of silicosis. There are today millions of dollars of law suits pending in the United States and Canada against employers, inaugurated by ex-employees who have contracted, or who claim to have contracted silicosis through the inhalation of dust while working for the particular employer. Much time and money and effort is being spent by industry of that kind to guard their employees against diseases of that kind. There are many others which I need not take the time to tell you about, any more than to refer to them.

The lighting of the buildings in which the employees work today is just about perfect. Every precaution is taken to protect the eyes of the employee.

Lunching facilities—many, many concerns today are providing splendid dining-room and splendid cooking equipment, and sometimes the meals are given outright to their employees in order that while on the job at least they may be sure of a good meal and, if he pays for it himself, it is at a very modest rate. Industry found long ago that it pays to do this. While it involves a capital expenditure

of tens of millions of dollars—that is literally true—tens of millions of dollars are invested by industry today in the physical equipment designed for the well being of employees. As I say, industry finds it pays to do it.

Not only does industry provide the splendid physical programmes but they are going much further in the way of providing mental programmes. It is amazing when we look over the field of activity in America to find the very broad and comprehensive educational programmes to be found today in factories, warehouses, offices, and mining centers as well, where the employer has gone to considerable expense in the way of establishing class rooms, engaging educators to come and teach his employees. Many of the employees have not had the advantages of higher education and incentives are put up to encourage the illiterate or those not well educated to avail themselves of the opportunity that is provided in the industry itself for a broadening of knowledge on the part of those employees, because the very educating of that man or woman in itself makes a bond of interest between the employer and the employee. It comes back in the subtle, indirect way as a sort of rebound of gratitude. Not vocalized—it is felt rather than vocalized. The employee has for his employer a kindlier feeling than he perhaps would otherwise have. Not only does the employee but the employee's family and the constituency in which the employee lives and operates feels more kindly toward that institution than it otherwise would because there is a recognition of human interest on the part of the employer toward the employees which is appreciated by the community at large.

These educational programmes are still further supplemented by the training of foremen, by the training of the art of salesmanship, by the training of the art of manufacturing the particular materials that are being made in the various enterprises, educational classes in English, rare art, shorthand, stenography, actuarial courses, nursing courses, book-keeping, dress making, millinery. It is just amazing

to observe, as I do as I go around the country, the various interests that are taken on the part of these employers of labour to train their men and women to become more alert and more efficient and more useful to themselves and to society.

These mental programmes are still further supplemented by splendid social programmes. We all want some fun. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. Business has come to find that out and today it has well-organized programmes. They have their bands and their orchestras and their glee clubs, their annual dances, their outings and they have their picnics. They have their various showers that are given to the girls when they are going to get married. There is a house mother in many of the big concerns and it is her business to listen to the troubles, whether imaginary or real, of the employee. There is a sort of confessional where men and women can go sometimes and pour out their hearts and tell what their troubles are. A real interest is displayed on the part of the management toward employees, just as a father or mother displays real interest on the part of himself or herself toward the child in the home. That attitude of paternalism is not simply in the attitude of giving. It has broadened out into the attitude of a relationship of co-operation between employer and employee—all spelling for good will and going a great way toward making our countries equipped with better human machines than they otherwise would have.

Then these three problems, physical, mental and social are still further supplemented by very broad and comprehensive financial programmes that are so huge as to be staggering in their final results. Almost anybody can earn money. Very few people can save it and very few people can save it for any length of time. Now, it may interest you to know that there has been set up traps, contraptions, devices, programmes in industry which snitch off and hold back and retain a portion of the payroll at the request, however, of the employee, so there is being evolved an

automatic systematic, painless method of extracting money from people's pockets. None of us like to part with money. We work hard to get it or think we do and we resist every effort made to take it away from us. But there is an advantage taken of what is known as mob psychology. Thousands of employees working for an employer are offered an opportunity to do something. A great majority of people do not think. It hurts most people to think. There are only a very limited number of thinkers in this world, and the thinkers and the leaders are the people who set the pace and always the thinkers and the leaders in every industry and group of people, if they are quick to see the advantages of the programmes offered by employers, go ahead and the others follow along and become the beneficiaries of the associations they have had with such a thoughtful employer. The result is today we have in these two countries a very, very thrifty lot of people. The word *thrift* implies something that we don't like to think of. There is an implication of stinginess about thrift. We don't like to use it here in America. We talk about the thrift of the French peasants. It is claimed he hoards his gold, that he puts it in a stocking and hides it in a chimney corner. That is lazy money, that is money that doesn't do any good. That is idle, lazy, slow money. We in America have learned a better way. We have our money put at work, working the day it is earned instead of having it lying idle. How is that done? It is done by means of what is known as the payroll deduction programme. There are today over eight million men and women engaged in industry and again, I say, industry includes everything from education to manufacture and transportation of materials. There are over eight million of these people automatically saving money through what is known as the unseen dollar. The dollar they never get their fingers on, the dollar that can't lead them into temptation, the dollar they can't spend. They never see the dollar, the dollar that the paymaster takes out of the weekly and monthly

pay and puts to work along certain lines. What are the certain lines? Various and many indeed they are. Sometimes the employer invites the employees to contribute money systematically for the purpose of purchasing homes and a home building campaign pertains in that particular area and a large number of employees are encouraged in getting homes and paying for them in this easy, systematic manner. Building and loan associations are operating successfully through many industries today. I find that there aren't so many here in Canada but there is a very large number in the United States, indeed. There are over seven million people today participating in building and loan organizations where they are systematically paying money, sometimes directly, and in many cases through payroll deduction by the employer.

The larger and more spectacular programmes, however, are those that are operated through the insurance companies. You know that there are nearly three hundred life insurance companies operating in the United States and Canada and for the most part these companies have built up huge reservoirs of wealth by retail methods. They have their agency corps contacted with the ultimate consumer, the man or woman interested, and they have succeeded in getting that person to become a systematic individual, saving money monthly, quarterly, weekly, yearly, whatever it may be, for some future need, and in that capacity the life insurance companies have put up these large volumes of money.

There are over 112 billion dollars of life insurance in America, more than half the life insurance in the whole world is located in these two countries. Now, 100 million of that, nearly, has been done in the retail method, by the personal solicitation of agents to the individual, but of late years big business (when I say big business I mean any sizeable concern) has learned how it can use the life insurance companies and we find today that the business employers of this country, over 20,000 employers of labour

in the United States and Canada are today engaging the services of life insurance companies to help them build up the financial programmes that they are desiring to carry out for the benefit of their employees. This is a wholesale method of merchandising.

There is probably no product that is manufactured today in this country or the United States that is merchandised with such a minimum of effort and with such an economy of expense as is life insurance when it is merchandised through the employer. He sets himself up as a sort of branch office, a sort of general agent of the particular insurance company and he invites his employees to participate in a programme and he goes further than that. He not only invites them to come in on it, but goes a long way toward helping them pay for it. He makes it very easy for them to pay for it by having the payroll master make deductions and make remittances to the insurance company. The result is the insurance companies today are able to be of much larger service still than they already have been. Where that will end I do not know. One thing is certain, it is expanding very, very rapidly.

These employers of labour long, long ago had created and fostered and built up in their institutions benefit societies, mutual aid societies, whereby the employees would organize and pay monthly dues and in the event of sickness or accident, in case of death, small death benefits were payable, sickness allowances were paid, accident allowances were paid as well. Those are operated today and have been in many of our big corporations for the last fifty or sixty or a hundred years. They have been operative and they have done and are doing a grand service to that section of society that is industry. But the employers of labour have found out that they can use the insurance companies in a broader way so today they have engaged the services of the life insurance companies to carry on health and accident insurance on this group or wholesale basis, so the employee may get for himself, under terms and conditions

such as he couldn't obtain by himself, a very considerable amount of health insurance or accident insurance.

That has been still further supplemented by hospitalization insurance. It is a very great tragedy to the average home, outside of the mental anguish involved there is the financial anguish—if I might use such an expression—when a member of the family has to go to the hospital. A very limited number of homes can afford the expenses involved in going to hospitals for treatment which is often needed. As a matter of fact, thousands of men and women today are in need of surgical attention in hospitals and they have too much pride to go in and take the operation as a charity ward.

Some employers today are engaging the life insurance companies to come in and set up a programme whereby the employee can get a very considerable amount of money payable to him for hospital needs and a certain amount of money payable week by week while in that hospital. That is a rather new movement. It only started a few years ago but it bids fair to become a very large piece of business for the various houses that are engaging in it.

There is still another activity that the insurance companies are being used for. That is to provide old age insurance, commonly called pensions. In this country we don't like the word *pension*. It smacks of servant. Pension smacks of—Oh, just a little bit of something that is given to them, and we Canadians and Americans like to think we are independent. We are not pan-handlers. We don't want people giving us something. We want to fight our own battles. So those of us who are interested have found out that it is not a good word to use, so the word *pension* is no longer very much in use in the United States by employers of labour. It is now termed *retirement*. We all like to look forward to the day when we can retire. There is something attractive to contemplate, for a young man or woman to imagine the day is coming when he or she can retire to a definite income.

It may interest you to know there are today operating in these countries programmes that have already accumulated hundreds of millions of dollars that are deposited with the life insurance companies jointly by the employee and the employer for the specific purpose of paying those men or women interested definite incomes when they arrive at age sixty, or sixty-five, or whatever the age determined on is at which they would like to retire.

So these programmes that employers of labour are using, these financial programmes which I have spent some time on, in reference to insurance, group life, group health, group hospitalization, group old age insurance, have reached such a stage that today 13,000 million dollars of group life insurance is in force in America. There are about 45 million dollars of health and accident benefits operative. In other words, if all the people insured were to get sick there would be 45 millions payroll a week going out that is insured and guaranteed for sickness and accidents.

There are corporations today where the employers have of their own volition contributed and have put away over 30 millions of dollars. I know at least two corporations where the employees have on tap for themselves, available if wanted at any time, over 30 millions of dollars which they have saved in this manner, all for one purpose, namely for retirement. Along with that the employer probably puts as much or more. There are quite a number of concerns in this country today that have already many, many millions of dollars turned over to life insurance companies for the specific purpose of providing annuities, which means old age payments to the employees when they arrive at retirement age.

These financial programmes have all binding effect. They seem to do something to a man or a woman that is a desirable thing to have done to that man or woman. It seems to make that man or woman have a feeling that he or she is growing rich. We all like to picture the day when we will be rich. It is good psychology for an employer

of labour to set up a programme in his plant which enables the employees to feel and think they are growing rich. Not growing rich by speculative processes, no, but by the good old-fashioned method of thrift, by saving the money the day it is earned, by having it never come into their hands, by having the savings part attended to first. It is so easy to spend money and so difficult to save it.

Now, I have referred to the programmes that employers of labour have built up in creating better industrial relations. They are all just the kind of programmes that ought to obtain in your home, if you, as the head of a house, can have a programme of that kind you will have a happy family, you will have your wife and children and yourself, too, fairly contented and you ought to be better citizens and more efficient than you otherwise would be. If there is anything in the world it is disagreeable to get along with it is a grouch. You know yourself if there happens to be any unpleasantness in your home between you and your wife, it sort of spoils the day for you. You may go out with your head up. You had the last word, maybe, yet all through that day something just isn't quite right in the heart. Something isn't quite right. You know, on the other hand, how nice it is when everything is sweet and lovely at home with you and your wife and the children. The same thing obtains in industry if the employer and the employee have a smile and a good word for each other, if they feel they are co-operating and getting along together.

When you read about industrial relations please give some credit to the thoughtful employers of America and Canada—I use the word comprehensively—for the foresight they have exercised in building up these programmes. And it is all good business. Do not give the employer credit for being a philanthropist. It isn't so at all. It is nothing more nor less than good business. It is good business for big business to make its men and women into business men and women. Business is systematic. That is the reason it is business and the moment business ceases

to be systematic it ceases to function properly and goes out of business.

Only the other day I was seated at a luncheon table with a gentleman who is connected with the Radio Corporation of America and in talking about their health programme he outlined a simple little incident which will illustrate to all of you the value of programmes of this kind, how they pay. They had a number of cases of dust diseases arising and they found out that certain of their manufacturing processes required abrasive treatment. After the material came from the mould it had to be polished and the polishing was done by sand blast and the sand blast filled the air with dust and particles of silica got in the lungs of the workers and resulted in the disease known as silicosis. So, in their study, trying to find out how to prevent their employees becoming sick, activated only by that motive, they found there were better ways of treating those pieces of the machine than the way they had been treated. They found out a method known as shot projections, which produce an abrasive effect and wear down the rough surface and do away with the dust. They found further that about ninety per cent. of the articles being moulded that way could be moulded in a different way, not to require any abrasive treatment at all. They had been simply going on in the old method because it had been operative for a long time, but plans have been worked out by which the moulding could be done so perfectly that there was no need of abrasive treatment at all. They had been simply going on in the old method because it had been operative for a long time, but plans have been worked out by which the moulding could be done so perfectly that there was no need of abrasive machinery. As a matter of fact, in an effort to take care of the health of their employees they inaugurated a new way of treating the material itself and are actually carrying on that particular branch of their activity at a saving of \$50,000 a year. The employer had the satis-

faction of knowing that in his efforts to look after the health of his employees he had actually saved money.

I notice that the red light has gone on. I am through. I hope I have said something that may be at least suggestive to you business men, to you men who are here today because you are interested in industrial relations. You are interested in seeing that the men and women that are engaged in your various enterprises are functioning as nearly as possible one hundred per cent. I take it as a good omen today in both these countries that there are to be found every day almost, gatherings such as this, where highly paid executives, very important owners of business enterprises are giving much time and thought and study to the various devices and programmes that have been inaugurated for the betterment of human relations in the various enterprises. Believe it or not, things are getting better in these countries. Things are getting better. There is no country in the world today where the men and women are so well paid, so well rewarded for their efforts as in these two countries. They are the best paid, the best educated, the best housed, the best entertained people in the world, and there is no group of people in the world that have built up for themselves protection against the worries that come in later years as have the people of these two countries. Nearly every man or woman has had or does have in his mind thoughts like these: What will happen to my family if I die? What will happen to me if I meet with sickness or accident? What will happen to me if I lose my job? What will happen to me if I live to be an old man and haven't an income? Those are major worries, not always vocalized but they are there all the same. If we can do anything as an intelligent, educated people to remove those worries, not only from ourselves but our associates, we will have gone a long way toward making this a still happier and a better world in which to live.

There is just one other thought I intended to get across. The employers of labour today have a new gospel they

are preaching, the gospel of the three H's—the hands, the head and the heart. No longer is an employer contented to hire a thousand hands. He wants a thousand heads. He wants a thousand hearts, too. If he has the good will and the thoughtful consideration of the employees he has an asset there that is more valuable on his annual statement than he reports it to be. Those of you familiar with looking at annual statements gotten out by various corporations (I am looking at my friend of the General Electric who was talking about his annual statement a few minutes ago) will see on the annual statements the assets and liabilities and when you get to the bottom of the assets sometimes you see, "Good Will—\$1.00." Try and buy it for a dollar. This is often a misstatement in an annual statement. It is worth more than a dollar. You don't sell and you wouldn't sell the love that your children and your wife have for you, yet you can't draw a dollar on it. You can't sell it, you can't get any cheques cashed on that. Neither can these employers draw cheques. That is the reason it is put down at a dollar. They can't draw cheques on the good will of their employees, but the good will of the employee and the good will of the customer and the good will of the constituency in which he operates is a very considerable asset. It is being recognized, it is being played up to. In spite of the flurries of excitement, in spite of the strikes and troubles that come along every once in a while we are making very rapid progress in both these countries and I see nothing myself but reason for congratulations to the big successful business men that are giving their lives—that is true—giving their lives to the betterment of conditions in this world. You may say they are giving their lives to make money. Maybe they are, but the mortality among the business men, the high executives, the men who do not have limited working hours of six and eight hours but who work fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty hours a day doing a great service, is very high. Let us say a good word for them once in a while. They

are not as bad as we sometimes think they are.

Mr. President, Gentlemen, I thank you for the privilege of coming here. I thank you for your attention. I consider it a great honour to be invited here and I hope I have not wasted your time.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Kavanagh, we are all concerned about and are thinking about the subject of your address today and you have indeed clarified many points and given us further thoughts for study in this most interesting and instructive address. I express to you, Sir, the grateful thanks of your audience present, and your audience of the air.

The meeting stands adjourned.

WHAT DOES OUR EMPIRE MEAN TO US?

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE CHARLES A.
DUNNING

Thursday, December 16th, 1937

THE PRESIDENT: Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen: "What is involved by the term *British Empire* at the present time is a subject of much concern and discussion among all the component groups, particularly in Canada. Hitherto most of us have complacently accepted all the advantages derived from the relationship, confident of their permanent continuance, but the new cults which take their rise from many of the world centres have rudely disturbed our sense of security and threatened our basic institutions. If we are at all observant we cannot avoid sensing the demand for sane leadership and we are exceedingly fortunate at this juncture in our guest-speaker of today. (Applause.) The Honourable Mr. Dunning enjoys the confidence of the people of this Dominion in a manner that few public men do. (Applause.) Since coming to Canada in 1902 he has filled many and various important offices in his own Western Province as well as in the Federal House, with great credit to himself and to this country. He has remained a citizen of Canada but his reputation as a statesman has recrossed the Atlantic where his counsels are sought in Empire and world affairs, as they are in this Dominion. We, of The Empire Club of Canada in Toronto, are honoured by his presence here today. He has chosen as the subject of his address, "What Does Our Empire Mean To Us?" I have the honour and much pleasure in introducing the Honourable Charles A. Dunning. Mr. Dunning.

(Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE CHARLES A. DUNNING: Sir William Mulock, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I must thank you for this opportunity, the acceptance of which has been so long delayed. Your President has reminded me of the length of time which has elapsed between your kind invitation to me and my acceptance of it. Unfortunately, the work in which I am engaged does not permit as much public speaking as can conveniently be done by those who hold other portfolios. I sometimes think the less said about Finance except in budget speeches the better.

I had the great honour and privilege this summer, of being one of the representatives of Canada at the Coronation and at the Imperial Conference. Many of those in this room, I know, witnessed part, if not all, of the ceremonies incident to the Coronation, and were impressed and inspired, by the great meaning behind all the pageantry, all of the history of the centuries which was there expressed. I am sure all felt strongly that our Empire is not merely a geographical entity. The spiritual meaning of it was brought home to us as never before. This great gathering of people, representative of every country within the British Commonwealth, came together voluntarily to participate in a great historic act. Voluntarily. That is rather an important word in connection with the meaning of our Empire to us. Voluntarily. There is no conscription of the mind in the British Empire. (Applause.) That fact alone is one of the profound meanings of Empire to us. Totalitarian states, dictatorships of whatever kind, depend ultimately upon conscription of the mind for a continuance of the authority which they exert and therein lies one of the main fundamental difference between our Empire and that type of state.

A little illustration of what that means, carried a step further, I can give in the form of an incident related to me by the man to whom it occurred this summer in London. You all know of that part of Hyde Park which for generations has been devoted to affording liberty of speech to all who cared to go there and could gather around them an

audience. You can understand that an occasion such as coronation time gave a splendid opportunity to all the would-be orators, all the would-be apostles, and, of course, the blue-coated London 'Bobby' was there to protect the speakers from the wrath of the crowd. My friend, in relating the incident to which I am referring said he was driving along the roadway, close by the green grass on which the rostrums are erected and, seeing quite a crowd gathered at one spot, he thought he would put the brakes on, stop and listen for a few moments beside the curb. A great crowd was listening to an orator who was abusing all our established institutions from the King down, but with direct reference to the Metropolitan Police. They were the agents of Capitalism! They were grinding the faces of the poor and—Oh, a lot more violent things than that. Just about the time that statement was reached in the speaker's address, a blue helmet stuck itself inside the window of the car and a policeman said to my friend, "Would you mind shutting off your engine, Sir? They can't hear what the gentleman is saying." (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, it's amusing. It's amusing, yes. But it has a profound meaning. I see you all get it. I need not elaborate it.

If I were asked what feature of the proceedings in London impressed me most from the standpoint of Empire and its meaning, I would point to the great gathering of the Empire Parliamentary Association in historic old Westminster Hall. Many of you, I am sure, have seen that old hall and have felt the thrill as you walked the stone pavement and saw here and there throughout its length plates indicating stages and crises throughout the last eight centuries in the history of this people and this Empire. That great stone hall which more than any other building in the world typifies our institutions, our Empire, more closely associated with all that we hold dear, with all that is real and permanent in our conceptions of government than any other building. On that day there were gathered

at tables similar to these, down the length of the great hall, representatives from all of the Legislatures of the British Empire, and at the top of the historic stone steps a long head table, similar to this, and in the centre, His Majesty, the King, flanked on either side by the Prime Ministers of the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. His Majesty, the King, facing one of the great ordeals of his life, in some respects an ordeal greater than the ordeal of the Coronation, for his duty that day was to do what had never been done before, to respond to the toast to his own health before a gathering of the parliamentarians of his Empire.

Picture the scene, will you? The audience, composed of men, many of whom were practised public speakers, all of whom thought they were; flanked on either side by the leading figures of the British Empire, a man who had just succeeded to the Throne, not by any ambition or any desire of his own but solely because of that call which coming under such circumstances could not be ignored, without the advantages of training usually associated with long periods as heir apparent. That slim, athletic figure standing there, facing that ordeal, was an inspiration to every man in that historic hall and, as the speech proceeded in measured accents, there came to all of us the knowledge that here was an exhibition of that character upon which the foundations of this Empire rest. (Applause.) I say *character* for a very special reason. There have been stories that our King suffers from disabilities which prejudice him in the performance of his duties. Rumours about his health. I can say without any fear of contradiction from any one who has been close to His Majesty that physically His Majesty, King George the Sixth, is an athlete, in very fine physical condition. (Applause.) Disability? Yes. From his youth up he has suffered from an impediment in his speech and one of the best evidences of the character of the man which I can give is the picture of him facing that ordeal before the most critical audience, from the standpoint of public address,

which could be gathered together in this Empire. He proceeded steadily from beginning to end. True, it was a fight, a steady, sustained fight, but the kind of fight that one could feel the speaker winning every second against the greatest odds. (Applause.)

I do not remember any incident which impressed upon my mind to a greater degree the power of character in an individual under great stress. On every occasion—that was only one—on every occasion His Majesty, King George the Sixth, meets that test and meets it successfully, but it is a continuous fight, and that is what places emphasis upon the character of the man. We need have no fear, Gentlemen, that King George, the Sixth, will not sustain the noblest traditions of his forebears. (Applause.)

I am sure that the word, Empire, used as the name of this Club, is not merely an abstract term, but in fact, relates to the unique system by which the British peoples everywhere are governed. Nothing like it has ever existed and no previous organization of mankind was ever so wide-spread or so flexible in its application to various races, creeds and conditions. To describe it and to analyze logically its vital principles has ever been the despair of historians of other races.

We, who are the inheritors of this Empire's noble past and the trustees of its future, seldom attempt logical analysis of our inheritance and are generally content to meet the problems of the future as they come without definite plans for adjusting our system according to any rigid line of future development.

In this we are but following the example of those who went before us. This great Commonwealth is an ever evolving organism, adjusting itself, as required, to changing conditions and to the progressive development of its many peoples. I believe one of our greatest responsibilities is keeping alive and in full vigour the conception of human relations which has made it what it is.

We can sense the basic aspiration of the British peoples throughout their history, that they shall be governed by

laws made by their own elected representatives and not by the will of one man nor by the will of any group not responsible to the people.

Consider for a moment the tremendous consequences of that idea, held strongly by our forebears for a thousand years and more. It finds expression in each succeeding century in an ever-widening freedom, an ever-widening capacity to govern among all classes of our people, an ever-developing system of local self-government based on the same fundamental principle and steady improvement in social conditions.

In each succeeding period of our history the responsibility of carrying the torch of this great conception of ordered liberty has been shared by an ever-increasing proportion of our people.

In earlier times, with a very limited franchise, the responsibility rested on a few, but the franchise has steadily broadened until in most countries of the Commonwealth, the responsibility now rests upon all adults equally. All are now responsible by their votes for the maintenance of the best from the past and for continuing the process of human betterment in our time.

Viewed in this light the responsibility of the individual voter is a vital one. Upon the proper discharge of it the whole structure rests. All down through the years whenever more citizens were allowed to vote and thus to join in the work of government, dire prophecies were made that the state would collapse because of lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of the electorate. We have seen instead that our people have always been equal to the occasion and the orderly evolution of our institutions has continued.

We have seen in many foreign countries the power of government pass from the citizens and into the hands of a Dictator. We often say, "It could not happen here," but in sober truth, one great factor only prevents it happening in British countries, and that is continued responsible, sane, progressive use of the vote by the people as a whole. Be-

cause of the times in which we live, because of what is happening in the world around us, I believe our greatest responsibility at this time is to ensure that all of us, who by our votes create the government of all, should now take an even keener interest in the problems of mankind, should be even more tenacious in holding to our tried and tested conceptions of human, national, Commonwealth and international relations which have brought us thus far safely along the road.

British peoples everywhere know all these things well, but is there not a danger that we have become so accustomed to the orderly use of the freedom we enjoy, that we treat it as we do the daily wonders of nature, taking it for granted that nothing can disturb its operations?

In the present state of the world it is of the greatest importance to remind ourselves that nothing in human relations can be as certain as the daily rising and setting of the sun. Our British conception of the social contract of government, developed by many generations, with painstaking effort, much debate, much trial and error, and some conflict, is nevertheless a man-made instrument which can be improved continuously by man's efforts, but which if neglected can fall into decay with surprising ease.

Each succeeding generation is only dimly conscious of the progress made by previous generations. The citizen of the British Commonwealth of today starts life with all the advantages, material, moral and social, which have been won by all who have gone before. He naturally, therefore, tends to take for granted, as commonplace, all the hard won attainments of the past.

I sometimes think that it would add greatly to our appreciation of British institutions if suddenly some morning we could awake in the world of 1837 and live in that century-ago time for a week or two. I venture to say that on returning to 1937 we would have a very much higher appreciation of the value of many things which we now take for granted, especially in those matters which have to do with human

relations under the law. We can only hope to continue to hold our progress, and to build even better for the future, by cultivating an understanding of the value and reality of our institutions of ordered liberty and of our unique system of self-government.

These things are of greater moment today than for many years past. During the early years of this century a world trend in the direction of popular government was clearly visible. During the last twenty years there has been a distinct reversal in important countries. Twenty years ago who would have dreamed of attempting to convince civilized people that dictatorship is superior to democracy as a form of government for a nation? Today it is being seriously contended. Great nations have thrown away the hard-won progress of generations and have completely abandoned their right to an effective voice in their own government. While it is the undoubted right of each country to determine its own form of government, this development is not without significance to us.

We hear even in British countries some who seek to convince us that democracy cannot possibly be as efficient as dictatorship and that we must abandon our voice in government in order to avoid being overwhelmed in the near future by the massed efficiency of dictatorships.

It is not enough for us to say that this is nonsense, that nothing of this nature could happen. The pages of history show clearly that while dictatorships have never been permanently constructive in human affairs, their capacity to destroy the liberties and institutions built up by others stands clearly revealed.

In theory, at least, a nation under dictatorship, responsive to a single will, is more efficient at a given moment of time than any of our free nations of the Commonwealth, governed as they are by Parliaments, through discussion, political parties and all the complex machinery of democracy. Those who accept this theory advocate centralization

of authority in the Commonwealth and would have us become virtually a dictatorship.

Such a step would be a complete reversal of our course hitherto and would destroy all of that liberty on which our whole structure rests. The great Dominions equally with the United Kingdom now enjoy complete self-government. Each of the nations of the Commonwealth has its individual right of decision and action on all questions of peace and war. The tie that binds us together is in fact the very absence of bonds which would compel any one of us to act because of the will of any other. (Applause.) Our freedom under a common crown is our most precious possession, and is the element which, rightly understood and appreciated by all, will ever be the strength of the Commonwealth.

Since the Great War the British nations have laboured earnestly to co-operate with the rest of the world in bringing about enduring peace. We have been leaders in all international efforts to remove the causes of war, and have gone further than the rest of the world in setting an example of disarmament. The rise and trend of dictatorships has rendered our efforts of little avail for the present and we have been compelled to give thought to the defence of our whole conception of ordered liberty against possible destructive aggression.

Now the question is being asked, "Is it possible for a group of free, democratic nations, not united by any centralized authority, to successfully maintain their freedom against the dictatorship of Fascism on the one hand, or Communism on the other?" The answer depends on the full appreciation by our free citizens of the supreme value to us of all that I have been speaking of. Slowly but surely, in each of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth, we are witnessing the expression of the will of the people to hold fast to our own system of ordered liberty. (Applause.)

We are seeing also on the part of each nation of the Commonwealth a determination to put its own defences in order. With this determination goes the other, just as strong,

that our own national Parliaments shall have individual rights of decision and action in all matters of peace and war. It is this determination which causes our critics to believe that we cannot successfully withstand the power of dictatorships. All our history supplies the answer. Critics have made the same error in the past, by failing to give full weight to the great human values inherent in a citizenship which holds the freedom of its institutions as the most vital of its possessions. With freedom we believe everything is possible for a people, and that without freedom nothing can have real and lasting value. (Applause.)

The answer is that a people who have carried their conception of ordered liberty to the ends of the earth, and who appreciate to the full all that this great conception means to them, cannot be enslaved, from within or without, and will organize themselves in the future, as in the past, to defend their liberty.

So, in conclusion I repeat, the greatest responsibility of Empire at this time is to see to it that every citizen knows and appreciates keenly all that ordered liberty under the British Crown means to the individual, to the nation and to the Commonwealth. Thus we may be sure that our steady march to human progress and betterment will go on and on because it is the will of a free people. (Cheers—prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Dunning, there are times when my expressions of thanks to our guest-speakers seem most inadequate and this is indeed one of those occasions. Owing to the limited time, but not lack of appreciation, it is our custom to have no formal motion of thanks. As I said in introducing you, Sir, we are greatly honoured by your presence here. Your inspiring address will long be remembered by all who have heard it. Our faults, I hope, also will be remembered and corrected. I have much pleasure in extending to you the sincere thanks of the members of the Empire Club of Canada, our guests and your vast radio audience from coast to coast.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

HITLER'S DEMANDS: HOW BRITAIN MEETS THEM

AN ADDRESS BY S. K. RATCLIFFE

Thursday, January 13th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: Our guest-speaker today, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, is one of Britain's outstanding authorities on European international affairs. He is well known as a journalist throughout the English-speaking world and as a special correspondent for *The Observer* and *The Spectator* and as a foremost speaker on the British Broadcasting network on subjects of international policies. Mr. Ratcliffe brings to his subject not only the analysis of intimate studies but prior to coming to Canada he paid visits to Vienna, Prague and Southern Germany where he renewed acquaintance with leaders of various political schools of thought. Thus he possesses the background of authority which can be attained only by those who through long years of identification with European politics have met and studied statesmen of various nations. We are exceedingly fortunate in having Mr. Ratcliffe with us today and I have much pleasure in introducing him to the Members of The Empire Club of Canada and his radio audience. His subject: "Hitler's Demands: How Britain Meets Them." Mr. Ratcliffe. (Applause.)

MR. S. K. RATCLIFFE: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: You have asked me to discuss for a brief time today one of the most urgent problems confronting Europe and especially confronting the government of Great Britain, a question that is certainly causing a great deal of anxiety on our side of the Atlantic.

I am sure it will be in accord with your wishes if I say

something first about the general world outlook. 1937 was a year of multiple troubles and anxieties, 1938 will certainly not be an easier year than the last. Problems of world affairs which must involve momentous decisions are pressing upon all the governments. Wherever we look—to Central Europe, to the Near East, to the Mediterranean, to Japan—we see these problems crowding upon the statesmen and the peoples. Before 1938 comes to an end we should be able to see the direction in which the world is travelling. Thus, we may know how the decision in Spain will go. We should be able to tell, a little more clearly what is likely to happen in the new imperial adventure of Italy in North Africa. We may be able to see into that obscure situation in Soviet Russia. We may even be able to gauge some of the main results of the great Japanese adventure now going forward in China, and let us hope that in Europe generally we may see an approach to peace.

This is not only a momentous year, it is especially interesting on one account. In November we shall be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the close of the war. We elders are compelled to realize the swiftness of the world's movement and to realize also that our memories are full of experiences which the young people cannot share. We cannot transfer or pass on these experiences. There is a deep gulf between a generation involved in a terrific experience like that of the war and the generation which comes afterward. We who remember the war are conscious of the crushing of our hopes, and the reversal of our expectations. In 1919 we hoped at least for the establishment of a system of international accord through the League of Nations. We are compelled to realize that the collective system as attempted at Geneva has failed, that the League of Nations is in suspense. I was present at the last Assembly in September. I happened to be there on the day when the Assembly held its inaugural meeting in the great new hall of the Secretariat, that magnificent building overlooking the lake which today makes the impression of being

nothing more than a grandiose shell. The debates and the decisions in the League of these days have little indeed to do with the great issues that are being decided between the powers. There is the center of our disappointment, in the hopes that were taking shape when the peace period began. Again, we hoped there would be a quick renewal of the normal relations between governments and people, that the great and varied enterprises of world commerce would in due time be restored and the peoples be living and working together in normal, healthy circumstances and states of mind. But we have seen in the intervening period nearly every country on the earth's surface shutting itself up behind barriers and dividing walls. Further we hoped that there would be a progressive reduction in the terrific burden of armaments which, as we have heard from so many different authorities, must be regarded as a main cause of the great World War. We are now witnessing the piling up of armaments of the modern ultra-scientific kind, representing an expenditure, a consolidation of power, and an extreme development of scientific precision which would have been unimaginable when the nations laid down their arms in 1918. A more appalling destruction of human hopes the world has never seen.

In thinking of the way in which Europe and the world are going today, we need not look back before the beginning of the great depression in 1929 or the deeper depression in 1931. At the beginning of 1933, as you remember, almost exactly five years ago, the German Republic collapsed, and the extraordinary reign of Adolf Hitler began. In 1931, two years before Hitler, we entered upon a new period of aggressive war with the invasion of Manchuria by Japan. In 1935, two years after the coming of Hitler, came the Italian war in Ethiopia; and in the meantime we have seen increasing power of the Fascist states, and the enormous increase of armaments in Europe, beginning with the rearmament of Germany and continuing, momentarily, through the present rearmament of Great Britain. It is in connection

with those events especially that we are thinking of the difficulties today between Germany and Great Britain. Before the coming of Hitler to power our difficulties in relation to Germany always had France in the forefront. I suppose it would be accepted today that if it had been possible for British policy from 1922 onward to have been made effective in Europe, the destiny of the German Republic, which came to an end in 1933, would have been different; the chances of a general settlement would have been much greater. Until the coming of Hitler, then, we were considering questions of policy mainly in relation to Britain, France and Germany. One undoubted result of the events and decisions of recent years has been to bring Britain and Germany once again into direct confrontation. We see this in the German demands that have been stated from time to time since Hitler's first important declaration, and more specifically since that notable date in 1936, March 7th, when, perhaps on his own responsibility and against the advice of the Army Chiefs, Hitler gave the word for the reoccupation of the demilitarized Rhineland. The Fuehrer had shown very little respect for the Locarno and our treaties, and by ordering the military occupation of the Rhineland he virtually announced the end of the Versailles Treaty. Germany sees the events of these recent years, through the assertion of the power and will of Germany, as a progressive destruction, of the whole Versailles system—the ending, point by point, of the Treaty. The reoccupation of the Rhineland, with its repudiation of the Treaty of Locarno, could be taken as an announcement to the world that the Treaty was now in the view of Germany at an end. The only things that remain of the Treaty are the changes of frontier in Europe, the Polish Corridor in particular, and the confiscation of the German Colonies, the return of which, as you know, is at the present moment the central point in the German demands.

This insistence in his demands, especially upon Great Britain, for a return of the German Colonies, stands for a

very interesting change in Hitler's own position, in his political philosophy. Hitler, as you all remember, declared the aims of Germany in the big book which he began in prison during 1924 and completed two years after, *Mein Kampf*, partly translated as *My Struggle*. As regards his view of Europe and what Germany would need to do in order to re-establish her position, Hitler when he wrote *Mein Kampf* was a European politician. He viewed the present and future of Germany in what we may call Bismarckian terms. Bismarck was the great European statesman of Imperial Germany. He had no belief in expansion. He did not wish to see the energies of the German people expended on territory overseas. His view was that Germany must be the dominant power of Europe; that Europe must be the region of German strength and consolidation. When Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* he confessed himself a member of that school. That was his view of the future of Germany and he stated it in the clearest terms. Let me quote a sentence or two. He said: "Germany must take care that the power of our people is not based upon colonies, but upon land in Europe. We are through with the pre-war colonial and trade policy and we go over to the land policy of the future." He might have said, "The land policy of the past and the future." "Today," he added, "when we talk about new land we think of Russia and the border states of Russia." He went on to say, "Germany's territory is too small for 80 millions, and therefore expansion, and expansion in Europe is inevitable for this vital nation." "Our policy," he added, rather startlingly, "will be judged successful, only if in a hundred years 250 million Germans are living on the European continent."

We must remember, of course, that Hitler is much more of a prophet than he is of a statesman, although we have also to recognize that in this respect he has made noteworthy advances since he published *Mein Kampf*. The National Socialists, Hitler said, claim the right to force

their principles upon the whole German nation, without consideration, for example, of the old boundaries or other things. *Mein Kampf* is not only the scripture of National Socialism but it is in theory an unalterable scripture. You may think there isn't very much in that when we of the Western nations remember what our historical experience has been in relation to one scripture. Perhaps we cannot wonder that an unalterable scripture has been changed so much in the mouth of its author. Anyhow, Hitler today has abandoned the Bismarckian position. He no longer insists that the future of German strength is to be seen in terms of European territory and population, but is putting into the forefront of his policy the demand for the return of the colonies; and he does not make that demand as though it were to be the basis of negotiation or bargaining. When, for example, British statesmen say, "By all means let us prepare for a reconsideration of the colonies question, but it must be and can only be as part of a general settlement of Europe," the reply of Herr Hitler is, "We are asking for the return of the colonies as a matter of German right," and he has put aside, time and again, the suggestion that this question can only be discussed as part of the general settlement for which we are all hoping.

There can, I think, be little doubt that in this matter two main influences have been working upon Hitler. He has changed his position first, I should say, through the influence of the school of German thought represented by Dr. Schacht, who, only the other day ceased to be Finance minister of the Reich: And in the second place he has changed his way of talking in response to a popular demand. The Germans, since the overthrow of the Republic especially, have had drilled into them that as part of the necessary restoration of equality for Germany there must be a return of the colonies as a basis of recovered prestige. The popular view, immensely stimulated by national leaders of various kinds, is that Germany must again be a world power, and this world power must be expressed in territorial

possessions beyond the seas, valuable, according to the orthodox argument, as room for an expanding German population, as the source of raw materials, and as a widening area for German commercial expansion and enterprises. When we are dealing with a leader who expresses a popular view with the dynamic force of the German Fuehrer, it is not much use to make play with the argument, so popular on the other side, that colonies are not themselves a source of wealth for the possessing power, and that they are not much good even as a reservoir of raw materials, since those who use this argument lay themselves open to the obvious retort, "Well, then, if colonies have so little use and value for raw materials and other important things, will you tell us why in the Empires which hold large possessions, the continuance of those possessions is looked upon as something that must not be changed?,"

There, very roughly, is the outline of the problem with regard to the German demand for the return of colonies. It is worth nothing that ever since he felt himself secure in power, Herr Hitler has repeated these demands carefully, in phrases that have been thoroughly thought out, and as a general rule he has done it in a polite form. That is especially noteworthy, I think, in his way of replying to Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, whenever Mr. Eden has given him an opportunity of taking up the points. He has laid emphasis especially upon his point that the colonies were acquired by Germany in peaceful ways, without a war, and has insisted that Germany does not want colonies for military purposes, but only for its economic needs. But, as I say the interesting point is, that latterly Hitler has made these demands in careful words and with a studied politeness of tone.

One effect of this, together with other things that have been happening, has been to increase the strength of opinion in Britain in favour of exploring the ground, in order to discover what can be done by negotiation and agreement with Nazi Germany; and that brings me to an important

aspect of the problem. You will remember that last fall the National Government sent Lord Halifax to Berlin on a special mission. We all knew why Lord Halifax was chosen. He is peculiarly suited to be a special envoy of the British Government; he is a public man of the highest character and, as you will remember, he was a recent Viceroy of India, with probably the most noteworthy record of his generation: And he is on terms of intimate friendship with Lord Baldwin, the last Prime Minister. The official view is that Lord Halifax's visit did good, and that it had had certain encouraging results. This was said to me by a man high up in the Government only a few days before I sailed from England, but I think it is now agreed that that is somewhat too roseate a view. Lord Halifax had to discover not only what the feeling of important people was in Germany, but also to form a conclusion as to whether it was at all hopeful that we might begin discussing the Hitler demands. No one in London now, I think, would tell you that the result of Lord Halifax's visit can be stated in positively hopeful terms.

But over against that we have what is undoubtedly the changing opinion and sentiment of a large section of the British people. I will put it in this way. I am myself convinced that a majority of the Conservative Party, and perhaps of the greatly reduced Liberal Party, is in favour of doing everything possible to establish the basis of an understanding with Germany, if it can be done without the sacrifice of any essential British interest and without imperilling the position of Great Britain in relation to the maintenance of world peace. There is a growing feeling that, if possible, an understanding with Germany must be reached. We used to think of the gulf between France and Germany as the greatest danger in Europe; we now have to regard the confrontation of Britain with Germany as the greatest peril.

Apart from the increase of Conservative sentiment along those lines, there is a feeling among other sections of the

British people leading in the same direction. Although, for example, the Labour Party is fierce in its hostility to Fascism and to the Nazi part, that great section of British opinion has the feeling deep down of injustice with regard to the Treaties of 1919. It holds that the victorious allies were to a great extent responsible for the unfortunate turn in Central Europe and that, to put it in the simplest form, Versailles to an uncomfortable extent explains the phenomena of Nazism.

Hence it is not surprising, while on the Conservative Imperialist side we have a steady growth in the opinion that an understanding with Germany should, if possible, be reached, so also in the other parties we have a feeling that attempts should be made toward a greater measure of justice for Germany.

So far in trying to explain what has been happening, and how important bodies of people in England are feeling with regard to the present situation, it is not very difficult for the speaker; but it becomes difficult when we face the problem as to what should now be done and what steps should be taken by the National Government in the presence of these problems of 1938.

What then is the first part of the answer to those who feel the danger of Fascism and the Nazi philosophy with their enormous expansion of military and air force the last few years? It is this: that the coming of the Fascist and Nazi power in international affairs has brought a new danger to Europe, a peril which all the political democracies are bound to take with the greatest gravity. We have two positive things to deal with here. The first is the recklessness with which governments of this character have shown in dealing with treaties and with the plighted word. A new kind of international morality, or rather non-morality, between governments has been brought in and has been greatly increased since the coming of the new dictatorial powers.

In the second place, it is said, you cannot hope to satisfy

Germany with any reasonable answer to the demands. Colonial concessions would not avail to check the inordinate ambitions of a restored autocratic Germany. In opposition to those who say that the major interest of Britain now is an understanding with Germany, and who add this is an essential basis for peace, we have the profound feeling, certainly among the more democratic sections of the nation, that this is not the way to reduce the present danger in Britain, nor the way to arrive at a foundation for the new Europe.

I will try to support a practical answer to the challenge of this problem in the few minutes that remain. First, as to the present foreign policy of the British Government. You all know how that policy has been attacked, how it is censured from time to time, frequently in the strongest terms. Well, I don't disguise from you that a great many of those belonging to my part of England feel strongly upon the subject. We feel, especially since 1931, when the first great challenge to the collective system came in the Far East and since 1935, with the beginning of the Ethiopian War, that something has been gravely wrong with the international position of Great Britain. There should have been a clearer and stronger proclamation of British policy—under MacDonald, under Mr. Baldwin, and now under Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eden. The best way to meet the attack—I do not say it is a complete way, but it is something that must be said in fairness—is this: The governments of Europe today, and especially those of Britain and France, are entirely conscious of the peace feeling of the peoples behind them. When their policy is attacked they are always confident that they can throw themselves on the will and conviction of the people. The spokesmen of the Government say: "You are demanding a different line of action—for example, in Spain, toward Italy, toward Germany; but you must know that a different line of action would increase the danger of war, and that would be a general war." However much we may agree with the op-

position, we have to admit that the Government, when it comes to the test, has the overwhelming support of the people, and that they are compelled, in view of the wish of people, to pursue a policy designed to maintain the peace of Europe.

But, the critic says, the peace of Europe and of the world is not maintained. Since 1931 we have had war in several continents and for nearly two years a civil war in Spain, with aggressive action on the part of several powers. But the aim of the Governments of France and Britain has been to prevent the spread of that civil war into a general continental war. And on their behalf it is argued that, while there is danger in a cautious policy and much danger in a policy that seems to be irresolute, any policy that had a most positive character might well increase the danger of war.

If we ask the question, what could or should be done in this exceedingly perplexing and dangerous year in the face of the German demands and other difficulties in Europe, I think I should finish by saying this: Nothing that can happen in the world could be so evil as another general war. Therefore all foreign policy must be based upon the necessity of holding the peace. And what is the next step? I think this: A clear distinction between those powers for which the maintenance of peace is the imperative thing, and those powers which have once again accepted a theory of force and a doctrine of violence. The more extreme of their leaders are preaching that the noblest activity of man is warfare. There is the unavoidable contrast between those people who have accepted that philosophy and those of the other part who believe in the essentials of political self-government and social freedom. Sooner or later, in my judgment, we shall see a line-up between the two sides with greater and greater clearness, and it looks as though geography, politics and economics were working in this direction.

That does not make the task of the British National Gov-

ernment and of the greater British Commonwealth, any easier. It increases its difficulty and perplexity. No one of us can be in doubt, that some time or other a decision will have to be taken by those who occupy the seats of authority among us, and I am certain it is the wish of the vast majority of the British people that such decision on the part of the British people shall be taken on the side of the wider human freedom, the sanctity of the individual and of the healthy movement of society, and not on the side of systems which if made effective would bring darkness over our civilization. I do not think we should shut our eyes to the possibility that this year may bring the imperative need of something coming very near to that decision. (Applause—prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Mr George Bernard Shaw once said, "S. K. Ratcliffe is a very accomplished lecturer and a very remarkable man. He is a student of public movements and he keeps in front of them all, without ever letting himself get caught in a groove. He knows everybody worth knowing." (Applause.) We have not always agreed, Sir, with Mr. Shaw, but we do so most heartily in his opinion of you. You are no stranger to this audience or to your radio audience but you have neglected us of late. Please do not let this happen again.

On behalf of The Empire Club of Canada, and your radio audience, I thank you sincerely for this most interesting address.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

FROM MOSCOW TO TORONTO

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE A. DREW, K.C.

Thursday, January 20th, 1938

PRESIDENT: "As you all know, our guest-speaker for today, Colonel Drew, is a Past President of this Club and any introduction by me is quite unnecessary. He is also well known to the radio audience. I feel, however, it would be remiss of me if I did not express an appreciation of what he has done and is doing for the objects and ideals of this Empire Club of Canada. Colonel Drew is one of few men of his generation who gives unsparingly of his time and talents in creating an enlightened and intelligent public opinion. He has certain convictions and he is fearless in their expression. He is one who believes in British institutions, British justice and Canada's distinctive sphere in the Commonwealth of Nations. As such I have much pleasure in calling upon him to address us today. He has chosen as his subject—'From Moscow to Toronto.' Colonel Drew."

COLONEL DREW: Mr. Chairman, Your Worship, Gentlemen of the Empire Club: I do sincerely appreciate the honour of being your guest today. It is doubly an honour because, as the Chairman has pointed out, having been already an Officer of this Club, you are extremely patient when you come to hear me now. I do not think that there is any organization in Canada before whom one might so appropriately discuss the subject of Communism as that Club which is committed to the principle of keeping alive British traditions within Canada. To the best of my ability I shall attempt to lay before you reasons why I think that there is occasion for concern about the growth of Communism in different parts of Canada. No matter whether

we may think that it presents any immediate danger to our democratic system of government, it is impossible to ignore any longer the surprising support that is given to its doctrines by those who are not themselves Communists. The fact that more than one-third of all those voting in the recent municipal elections in this City, which has boasted for years that it is the most British community in the whole Empire, supported a Communist candidate, surely offers food for thought. And the man who received that substantial vote is not merely a Communist but is the officially chosen leader of the Communist Party of Canada. It seems to me that this brings the discussion from the vague realm of academic debate into the sphere of extremely practical politics for every one of us.

It is abundantly clear that there is a wide divergence of opinion within Canada as to what Communism is and as to the possible threat that it offers to constituted authority. In the Province of Quebec, as you know, it is illegal to use any building for the purpose of advocating Communism in any way whatsoever. It is also illegal to distribute any printed material that might teach the doctrines of Communism and Mr. Tim Buck, the Leader of the Communist Party of Canada, and other Communists have in the past few weeks been refused the right to speak at meetings in that Province and we in turn have had large indignation meetings in the City of Toronto, organized by the League for Peace and Democracy and other Communist adjuncts, which have bitterly denounced what is being done in the sister province.

At the outset may I say I do not believe in a Padlock Law which does not bring a case into the Courts. I am simply describing the different attitude there is there toward Communism. In Ontario, Mr. Buck not only holds meetings, but he received 44,159 votes in December last from the people of this British city. Communist literature may be distributed on the streets and in the homes in the City of Toronto, and *The Clarion*, the Communist newspaper,

carries daily, to those who buy it, its stories of the cruelties of Capitalism and the happiness which workers have found in Soviet Russia. Not only is it quite legal to use buildings in Ontario for the propagation of Communism, but Mr. Buck recently occupied a pulpit in a Toronto church and was introduced by its minister in these words: "A dear brother who is a martyr to the cause of freedom in his own generation; a man on fire to help his fellowmen, cost what it may." What then is this strange political doctrine, which is illegal in one of our two largest provinces and is shown such marked sympathy in another?

Many of its supporters are undoubtedly those of the younger generation who have no thought of being Communists themselves, but who look upon the acceptance of any new political doctrine as the best evidence there can be of their own intellectual emancipation. Youth has always sought the untrodden path toward unseen happiness and I imagine it always will. A witty Frenchman once said that any man of twenty who is not a Communist has no heart and any man of forty who is a Communist has no head.

But, contrary to the opinion of these misguided enthusiasts who are accepting it as some strange new belief, Communism is very old. Two thousand, three hundred years ago, Plato enunciated the principles of Communism which have been revised and expanded throughout the centuries up to the days of Karl Marx. Even such novel conceptions as community wives was not overlooked by Plato himself. For more than twenty-three centuries then, people have been trying to understand what Communism really is and apparently in Canada today there are many who have not yet learned. In England a hundred years ago the Corn-law Rhymer asked the question :

"What is a Communist? One who has yearnings
For equal division of unequal earnings,
Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing
To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling."

The very fact that Communism is such an ancient doctrine and has been revived so often for so many centuries has doubtless led many people to look upon its present growth in the Anglo-Saxon nations as nothing more than one of those recurring political epidemics which are best cured by the exhaustion of their own emotional efforts. They point, with some appearance of wisdom, to the tolerance shown in Great Britain in dealing with Communism and urge that that toleration is the best remedy. They point to that particular place which can be used as an illustration for almost anything—Hyde Park Corner—and say that if we would only encourage them to come out in the open and discuss it as it is discussed there we would best cure Communism. These people forget that the British authorities have not hesitated to use just as vigorous methods as have been used under the Padlock Law in the Province of Quebec, to make sudden and forceful seizure of documents in Communist offices in the City of London. That, in the heart of the home of toleration! And, you will remember, those seizures of documents have had a marked effect on the course of British political history. You will remember that the seizure of the Zinovief letter in Communist headquarters in London changed the whole course of a general election there. It must be conceded that the most strenuous advocates of this negative course are usually those whose imagination has become congealed in the cooling atmosphere of long years of smug security. But there are many of them.

The Communism I propose to discuss today is that of the members of the Communist Party of Canada which is an integral part of the Communist International directed from Moscow. No abstract Communism of Plato, of John More, or of Karl Marx. I want to speak of Communism as it is, what it stands for and what it means. Very briefly I wish to summarize the result of Communism in Russia, the history of Communism in Canada and the actual purpose of the Communist Party of Canada and its members.

When discussing the result of Communism in Russia, I agree with those who say that what we think of what goes on in Russia will have no possible effect on the course of Communism there. That is not the reason that we discuss Communism in Russia. The reason I think it is important that we should understand what has happened in the only country in the world which has tried Communism and which still claims to be Communist, is that the Russian experiment is continually pictured to us, and particularly to those unfortunate people in Canada who are looking anxiously for help of some kind, as the successful cure for the undoubted tragedies of the present industrial revolution.

We shall be very foolish indeed if we are not prepared to learn everything we can from other countries in seeking to improve working conditions in Canada and to increase the security, during their working years and afterwards, of those whose welfare must be the primary concern of every government. But on the other hand, we shall be equally unwise if we permit false impressions of experiments elsewhere to lead our people to wrong conclusions. Because of the spread of Communism, and because Communism must depend on a belief in the success of the Russian experiment, I suggest that from the point of view of internal political theories, as distinguished from external relationships, it is much more important that we should understand what has occurred under the Russian dictatorship than it is to understand what has occurred under any other dictatorship of Europe.

As I understand it, the first purpose of Communism was to remove those inequalities between men which were supposed to be the worst feature of Capitalism and to establish a basis of equality between all workers. You remember the words, the words that have been emblazoned in every textbook on Communism: "From each, according to his capacity; to each, according to his needs." That has been the ideal held before the whole world as the principal object

of Communism and the thing that they are trying to achieve in Russia today.

The truth is that under Russian Communism there are greater inequalities than in any other country in the world. On the one hand there is filth and utterly indescribable squalor, such as I had not believed could still exist amongst human beings. Men and women who work ten, twelve and fourteen hours a day in the workers' Paradise, scarcely able to keep body and soul together. But, in Moscow and in the larger cities, the Commissars, the heads of factories, the propaganda writers, those chosen few, and the professors and literary men generally, drive in Rolls-Royces, Lincolns, Cadillacs and Packards, and receive salaries in excess, in some cases, of \$100,000 a year.

It is not for me to decry the salaries they receive. I merely say it is a strange picture, this picture of equality among workers, where those whom Communism has lifted to the top receive salaries greatly in excess of most obtainable in a Capitalist state, beside filth, squalor and poverty such as hardly exists anywhere else in the world.

Take the most recent example. The new Parliament of Russia, which adjourned last night amid celebrations and parades past the wax figure in front of the Kremlin, voted the sum of \$60,000 a year to President Kalinin, the nominal head of this impoverished Soviet Government. Not only did they vote \$60,000 a year to Kalinin, but they voted the same sum to Premier Molotov, and it should, of course, be remembered that both these men are mere office boys to Comrade Stalin.

Another primary objective of Communism was to end the days of political imprisonment which was one of the very just complaints against the Czar's regime. But today the situation in Russia is worse than it ever was under any Czar in that respect. Practically all of the great construction works which are described and pictured in the press of the rest of the world are carried out by prison labour and by prison labour alone. The long canal, for instance, joining

the Volga to the Moscow River, of which I saw the formal opening last July, was constructed entirely by political prisoners, 500,000 of them being engaged at times in that work.

Compare the outcry of the Communists over incarceration of Mr. Tim Buck in Kingston Penitentiary, with their present effort to gloss over the use of millions of political prisoners in Russia today. I saw that fact denied in London by the Russian Ambassador while on my way to Russia. There is no denial of it in Moscow. I have a copy of *Pravda*, which is called *The Truth*, the Moscow government daily, in which it announced with some pride that 50,000 of these political prisoners had been freed for their good work on the Moscow-Volga Canal.

Now, if you have any doubt about the use of those political prisoners, please listen to this extremely naive official explanation that I took from an official Communist publication on the use of political prisoners on that canal: "Many of them are people who have been sentenced by court for various crimes and who, under conditions existing outside the Soviet Union, would be languishing in prison. But the Moscow-Volga Canal from the beginning has been the means of transforming former law-breakers into free and useful citizens participating in the development of their country." Isn't that wonderful? Glory to Comrade Stalin, glory to the Soviet Revolution, glory to the freedom of the workers which made it possible for 500,000 former law-breakers to participate in this development of the Soviet State.

Then you saw last month the announcement of the completion of 1,800 miles of railway, parallel to the Trans-Siberian Railway. It was the occasion of great celebrations. Another Soviet achievement. But did you notice that at the same time they announced the completion of those 1,800 miles, they also said that 10,000 political prisoners had been freed for their good work on that job. The remaining hun-

dreds of thousands who were used on that long line are going on to further glories of the Soviet Revolution.

Now, we have heard a great deal about the concentration camps in Germany and we should hear a great deal more. I have seen them and they are a disgrace to any country which calls itself civilized. There is no question about that. But how often do these imported Communists, who speak at Massey Hall and elsewhere about the horrors of the concentration camps in Germany, tell us about the infinitely worse concentration camps that exist in Russia today. Please do not take my word for it. Let me quote to you the words of an extremely ardent Communist sympathizer,—or he was when he went there—Mr. Eugene Lyons, who went to Russia as the correspondent for the United Press and spent many years in Russia. These are his words :

“Those who shouted hallelujahs to the Five Year Plan either were ignorant or pretended ignorance of the fact that the most extensive and most effective taskmaster and employer of labour was the police apparatus of the government. Its concentration camp near Moscow alone—one of several along the trek of the Moscow-Volga Canal under construction—contains more prisoners than all of Hitler’s concentration camps put together.”

That is true. I have seen that camp. It is a ghastly sight.

Then, you read the stories of the great constructions being undertaken at Magnitjorsk and other industrial centres under American and English engineers. Don’t take my word in regard to this either. Let me give the words of Mr. William Henry Chamberlain, of the Christian Science Monitor. These are his words, not mine :

“I could testify from personal observation that tens of thousands of such prisoners, mostly exiled peasants who had been guilty of no criminal offence, were employed at compulsory labour at such places as Magnitjorsk, Cheliabinsk and Berezniki.”

It is not only the cruelty of the conditions in Russia that is of concern to us but it is, it seems to me, the contemptible

hypocrisy of those who would seek to convince Canadian workmen that the vast enterprises which are being undertaken in Russia represent an ideal adjustment of labour conditions which should be imitated here.

Let me again give you the words of Eugene Lyons, summing up the situation as it really is today in his wonderful book—"Assignment in Utopia." This is what he says:

"I simply question the revolutionary pretensions of a society which counts its prisoners by the million, subjects them to hideously inhumane conditions, then seeks to fool the world into accepting this monstrosity as an educational institution. I question the building of Socialism by slaves. I question the unprecedented hypocrisy that would rally the noblest instincts of the outside world, the soaring hopes inspired by the Russian Revolution, in blind support of human degradation and organized sadism."

I saw at this concentration camp outside of Moscow, along the Volga Canal, thousands of men living under conditions which, if they had been repeated here for animals would have led to conviction and severe punishment for those responsible. I have seen the poverty, the utter, hopeless poverty of the peasant masses of Russia. I have seen, on the other hand, the opportunity that is provided for luxury and comfort to the chosen few of the Party officials who are the hosts of those Communists like Tim Buck, Stewart Smith, Salsberg and others who go over there as guests of the Communist Government and come back and tell us all about it.

Whether Stalin continues to rule Russia or not is perhaps to us in Canada a matter of comparatively little concern. What is of importance is that Communist Russia, which is pictured to our workmen here as a sort of Valhalla, has failed hopelessly to fulfil its ideals. It is a nation of privilege to the few, in which that privilege is enforced by firing squads without trial. Mark this. Less than one and one-half per cent of the people living in Russia are members of the Communist Party, and yet it is only members of

that very small minority who may be members of Parliament or may occupy any of the senior positions in government or industry throughout Russia. Yet their Canadian hirelings talk of their new freedom and democracy.

The question naturally arises in one's mind, how is it that members of some parties touring Russia do not see these things and come back and tell an entirely different story? Well, here is one of those enlightening breaks in the clouds that one sees from time to time. Let me read from a letter from Mr. M. Popovich of Winnipeg to Mr. Tim Buck of Toronto, reporting to him as Leader of the Communist Party of Canada:

"We have selected Comrade Navis as leader of the delegation. The names of several were considered and finally all agreed that John must go. He was abroad and knows the ways to go by. He can talk to the delegates on their way to U.S.S.R. and prepare them psychologically for the visit. He can give them the proper interpretation of everything they will see there. We want the delegates to come back with an unanimous opinion about the achievements in U.S.S.R. and we don't take any chances. That is why we have unanimously agreed to let John go with the delegation."

Good old John!

And now with this summary of Communism in Russia, and a very brief one it is, let me give you something of the history of Communism in Canada. In 1919 three men came from Russia with \$60,000.00 in Russian gold and instructions to establish Communism in Canada and the United States. One of these was a Russian named Freina; another was a Japanese named Katayama; and the third was a Latvian named Jensen who was particularly assigned to work in Canada. He later changed his name and remained here as Mr. Scott. He worked in close association with Jack MacDonald, then Leader of the Communists, and Tim Buck, and by May, 1921, they had organized sufficient Communist units to call a Convention at which the Communist Party

of Canada was formally organized and became officially a member of the Communist International. By resolution the objectives of the Canadian Party were stated. They were these:

"The Constituent Convention is the organization of the Canadian Working class into the Communist Party of Canada, section of the Communist International, with a programme of mass action as the vital form of proletarian activity, armed insurrection, civil war, as the decisive, final form of mass action for the destruction of the Capitalistic state."

There you have it, Gentlemen. The words are clear. From the outset their purpose has been identical with the Communists in Russia. They are a part of the Russian organization. They are financed and directed from Moscow. They always have been. When Jack MacDonald, who was ardent enough to get jailed several times in Canada, but was not ardent enough for Moscow, refused to resort to violence in 1930, they cracked the whip and Comrade Heckert of the Communist International in Moscow, sent this cable to Tim Buck:

"Place before MacDonald demand that he as member of Party and C.C. must openly admit and immediately abandon right opportunist position, unconditionally agree to carry on resolute struggle in deed against all right elements in party, against Lovestonites as well as Trotskyites, unconditionally accept Communist International and Party line and discipline informing him failing to accept these conditions of the Tenth Executive Council of Communist International Plenum means expulsion from the Party STOP In case he does not comply with this demand C.C. should take action publishing statement of his position."

MacDonald did not comply. He was expelled from the Communist Party and on instructions from Moscow, Mr. Tim Buck, the present Leader, was appointed.

Then, on November 12, 1931, he was convicted with seven others under the Criminal Code and sentenced to five years in Kingston Penitentiary. In August, 1933, he was

convicted of participating in the serious riots at Kingston Penitentiary and sentenced to a further nine months. He did not complete either sentence. You will remember that following a highly emotional and well-organized campaign at that time, he was released on ticket of leave on November 24, 1934.

He then ran as a Communist candidate in Winnipeg North, in the Dominion Elections of 1935 and received 7,418 votes. He next turned to municipal politics in Toronto as an apparently brighter field. In January, 1936, he ran for Controller and received 20,873 votes. A year later, running for the same office, he received 31,304 votes, and a month ago, 44,159 votes.

His progress, and I am describing it not because Tim Buck is so important but because he is the Leader of the Communist Party in Canada, may be best epitomized, I think, in the closing words of a very pithy letter, written from Communist headquarters here in Toronto to the Communist office in Montreal, on May 2, 1931,—

“The demonstration in Toronto yesterday was good. Four police were beaten up and one had to go to the hospital, so you see things are picking up.”

And things are picking up for Tim Buck.

So much for the brief history of Communism in Canada, as exemplified by the Party and Tim Buck as its leader. It is quite obvious that there are a lot of people who have no sympathy whatever with communism who are prepared to support Communists at the present time. The remark is often heard that it was a great mistake to prosecute Tim Buck in 1931, and that his conviction and imprisonment in Kingston penitentiary only aroused sympathy in his favour. All those who use that argument appear to be under the impression that Buck was convicted merely because of the fact that he was a Communist. He has been extremely careful, as you know, to spread that impression himself. That is of course quite untrue. These men were convicted by a jury of Canadian workmen, on

conclusive proof that they were members of an organization that was actively working to bring about a change of the government of Canada by the use of arms, force and violence. Whether you think they could succeed is not the point. The jury found that to be their purpose. Tim Buck, in the box giving evidence under oath, himself admitted that this was his idea of the Revolution for which they were working. These are the exact words:

"Part of the population imposes its will upon the other part of the population by bayonets, guns and rifles."

Fortunately we have no need here in Canada to guess what Communism is. Its aims and objectives have been clearly defined. This is what Sir William Mulock, then Chief Justice of Ontario, and still taking a happily vigorous part in Canadian affairs, had to say in the judgment of the Court of Appeal:

"The evidence proves that the Communist Party of Canada is a member of the Communist International of Russia and that instead of determining its own policies, purposes, teachings and aims, it adopted and adopts those of the Communist International, and, therefore, whatever are the policies, purposes, teachings and aims of the Communist International are also automatically those of the Communist Party of Canada.

"The Communist International has by its Theses and Statutes declared what are its policies, purposes, teachings and aims, and, therefore, an examination of those Theses and Statutes will enable us to determine also those of the Communist Party of Canada.

"According to the evidence of the accused Timothy Buck, large numbers of Communists in Canada, in the fall of 1920, secured copies of those Theses and Statutes and in 1921 several groups of Communists held a conference in Canada and formed an association called the Communist Party of Canada. Buck testified that the Communist Party of Canada was a section of the Communist International, and that from the year 1924 onward the above-mentioned

Theses and Statutes became binding upon the Communist Party of Canada."

Then it was proved by Buck's evidence and that of others that the guiding rules of the Communist Party of Canada are what they call the Theses and Statutes of the Communist Party. Now, just a few extracts from these will indicate what the Communists in Canada are working for:

"The working class cannot achieve a victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone, and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising."

Then let us look at the instructions given to Communists who are seeking public office. Some people point out that after all Mr. Smith, Mr. Salsberg, Mr. Buck and others are seeking ordinary democratic office, and we even have the *Toronto Daily Star* supporting Mr. Smith in his candidacy for Alderman. We find that the instructions are as follows:

"The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work but in order to direct the masses, to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within."

Whether or not they can achieve it, that is their purpose. There is no doubt at any point in the Theses and Statutes that armed uprising is the ultimate objective and that any pretense at conforming with existing institutions is only for the purpose of working more effectively for the destruction of Democracy. It is also quite clear that there is no such thing as a separate form of Canadian Communism but that it is part of the Moscow organization. Let us take this as an example:

"The Communist International makes its aims to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and to create an international Soviet Republic as a transition state to the complete abolition of the state. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of

humanity from the horrors of Capitalism. . . . It is especially to carry on unlawful work in the army, the navy, and the police."

Communists in Canada are also instructed that they must work for the breakup of the British Empire. They were given specific instructions and the first report to the Canadian Government, as far back as 1920, stated that in Quebec the Communists were to aim particularly at stirring up strife between English and French-speaking Canadians, with the ultimate purpose of weakening the British Empire. These words are part of the instructions in regard to the Empire:

"It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of Imperialism."

Where do the farmers come into the picture of Communism? This is what the Theses and Statutes say:

"The landed peasants or farmers are capitalists in agriculture, usually managing their lands with several hired labourers . . . this is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class and the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat . . . and, together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, the proletariat must deal a relentless, crushing blow to this class."

That is where the farmers come into the picture. No details are overlooked. They have even given instructions as to how to throw stones. Here are the exact words:

"It is not enough to pick up a stone and throw it, but it is important that the stone should hit the target, and not merely hit its target but that some effect should be seen from that blow. But so long as our comrades don't go through any training in throwing stones, they naturally throw stones more for the moral effect. But if, meanwhile, members of proletarian self-defence organizations systematically train themselves in throwing stones, and set themselves the aim, let us say, of each evening, when they finish work, and each morning, instead of going through gymnastic exercises, throwing stones at a target twenty-

five paces away, we can say beforehand that in two weeks the results of such a training on any attack would be quite different."

Can't you picture them throwing stones in the evening to the music of the radio? There have been a lot of stones thrown on the North American Continent in the last few months. Perhaps the instructions have been carried out.

In case anyone may suggest that these Theses and Statutes are not binding upon the Communist Party of Canada and that it has no such bloodthirsty motives, let me quote from the programme of the Communist Party of Canada itself:

"The revolutionary epoch which we have now entered forces upon the proletariat the application of militant methods, namely mass action, which leads to direct collision with the bourgeois state, *developing into armed insurrection and civil war.*"

"Mass action consists of mass demonstrations and mass strikes."

"As these strikes grow in number and intensity they acquire political character by coming into collision and open combat with the Capitalistic State which openly employs all its machinery to break the strikes and crush the workers' organizations. This culminates in armed insurrection and civil war aimed directly at the destruction of the Capitalistic State and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship."

We see all the way through strong emphasis on the importance of strikes. However, Communists indignantly deny their part in these disturbances. Last summer when it was suggested that they had taken an active part in certain strikes it was most vigorously denied and by none more emphatically than Mr. Tim Buck.

I would, therefore, ask those who accept Mr. Buck's words and who vote for this mild-mannered little man to listen to what the same man said in Moscow, when he was appearing on one of his regular visits to the Communist Committee in Moscow. He gave a speech on the work

they were doing in stirring up strikes in Canada and these are his exact words:

"The political line of our Party is to utilize this tendency of radicalization by adopting a policy of developing demands and initiating movements in different industries. All the characteristics of the third period are manifested today quite sharply. On account of the position of the Canadian working class it is necessary to develop demands in advance, rather than wait for sporadic outbreaks. Spontaneous strikes do not generally assume the proportions or the possibilities that the spontaneous strikes in the United States do, because of the difference in the size of the centres and industrial concerns. The political value of these strikes therefore tends to be less, unless we ourselves can prepare them in certain industries. The result is that we have adopted a policy of developing demands in many industries and on this basis sharpening relations and developing strike movements."

I ask you to remember Tim Buck's own statement to his lords and masters in Moscow, that the Communist party of Canada has "adopted a policy of developing demands in many industries and on this basis sharpening relations and developing strike movements."

The danger is not so much that the Communists may seize power in Canada. It is that they may become a sufficiently powerful minority to make their destructive influence felt, that they may lead to disturbances such as are creating chaos in France today. If it can there, it *can* happen here.

Let us remember that the last thing Communists want is industrial peace or the security of our workers. I have given you evidence that their purpose is to cause disturbance and unrest so that Communism may be accepted as the terrible alternative. That is the only way they can survive. We should all strive to remove the causes of industrial unrest and of these Communism is certainly not the least important.

Gentlemen, that is my case. I leave it to you to draw your conclusions. You are the jury—you and other Canadians who face these facts. I have given you a brief summary of what Communism is in Russia today, the history of Communism in Canada, and what Tim Buck and other Communists stand for. In the face of their efforts to destroy religion and to destroy the things which we hold dear, shall we stand idle although their numbers may be small? Don't forget that only one and one-half per cent. of the Russian people have it within their power to rule the whole of Russia today. Gentlemen,—in the face of these incontrovertible facts, do we want Communism here in Canada?

There are wrongs to be righted—many of them. There are inequalities which must be removed. We are going through one of those vast industrial and economic adjustments such as have shaken society from time to time in the past. But with faith and courage and good will we can solve those problems and assure the welfare of all our people under British democratic institutions. The flag that this Club honours stands for freedom. We don't need to be taught freedom from other countries. It stands for equality of opportunity for all. It stands for everything that is best in life today. Let us hold it high.

But British tolerance, I suggest, does not demand that we extend the protection of that flag to those who seek only to destroy. They have their own flag. Let them follow it if they choose, but let us say in terms which they will understand that the hammer and sickle on a red background has no place in Canada today.

(Applause—prolonged.)

CANADIAN MINERALS IN PEACE AND WAR

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE CHARLES
McCREA, K.C.

Thursday, January 27th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, such is the wisdom and power of The Empire Club of Canada that we invited Mr. George A. Urquhart, K.C., to be among our guests today and who should arrive but the Honourable Mr. Justice Urquhart. We welcome him here today and we congratulate him on his elevation to the Bench, and the people of Ontario on his appointment. (Applause.)

Six years ago tomorrow, the 28th of January, 1932, the members of this Club listened to a very interesting and instructive address on Ontario's mining industry. It was an address that should be written into the history of this Province. The guest-speaker said that in 1901 the production of gold in Ontario was nil. That was the year he commenced the practice of law in Sudbury. Ten years later, that is in 1911, the year he was elected as the representative for the Sudbury District, \$24,000 worth of gold was produced in this province. In 1923, when he became Minister of Mines for the Province of Ontario, the gold production had reached many millions of dollars. It can be truly said that the Honourable Charles McCrea grew up with mining and mining grew up with him. With such stability did he legislate in mining taxation that capital was attracted not only from other parts of Canada but from other countries of the world for the development of Northern Ontario. To my knowledge, during his term of office and up to the present time there has been no derogatory criticism of the Department of Mines of the Province of Ontario. To our guest-speaker today, the same Hon-

ourable Charles McCrea, Ontario owes an ever-increasing debt of gratitude. (Applause.) It is an honour for me to ask him now to address us. His subject, "Canadian Minerals in Peace and War." (Applause.)

HONOURABLE CHARLES MCCREA, K.C.: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: May I extend to the Chairman my thanks for the very kindly introduction which he has accorded me and may I express the pleasure which is mine today in again addressing The Empire Club of Canada. The subject of my address is "Canadian Minerals in Peace and War."

May I predicate my remarks upon the basic theory that our prosperity in any year is measured in the main by the value of the wealth crop which we take from our basic industries. These are agriculture, lumbering, mining, fishing and fur and, now, tourist traffic. The secondary industries in processing and manufacturing are reared on these foundations, and to supply a purchasing power, and catering to both the primary and secondary industries, are the banks, financial houses, loan companies, railways, insurance companies, power companies, construction companies, merchandising agencies and the various related services to meet the needs of our people, and last, but not least, religion and education produce the great, guiding, leavening and directing forces to weld our millions of people into a national and unified Canada. So, with that introduction, I approach the subject of: "Canadian Minerals in Peace and War."

This mining industry has become one of Canada's outstanding industries, expanding surely and impressively. A boy yesterday, grown into a man of towering strength today, he points proudly to his record of past years. Today on the threshold of 1938 he says, with even greater pride, "Look at my record for 1937." That record is a proud one for the mining industry, a proud one for Canada. We thought in 1935 when we set up a new record for mineral production at 312 million dollars for the Dominion that we had done very well, but in 1936 that

had improved by 50 millions, rising to 362 millions. 1937 tops them all with a record production of 452 million dollars, up 90 millions over a year ago. When we look back about 40 years and realize that Canada's total mineral production was less than 30 millions and today it has risen to this magnificent total of over 450 millions, one realizes what tremendous strides have been made. This 452 million dollars has gone, as you know, in salaries, wages, supplies, equipment, freight, power, insurance, dividends and taxation. Last year this industry employed some 105,000 people and had a payroll of 135 million dollars, more than 33 millions over 1935. That did not include the vast sums of money that went into prospecting which covered thousands of men in the field.

In making up this total of 452 million dollars, British Columbia contributed 71 millions, or over 16 per cent; Manitoba, 17 millions, or 4.7 per cent; Ontario, 227 million, 500 thousand dollars, (over 50 per cent. of the gross production); Quebec, 60½ million, or thirteen per cent., and Nova Scotia, some 33 million or seven per cent.

Of the total of 452 million dollars, some 333 millions were from metals. The payroll of 135 million became purchasing power which went for food, clothing, shelter and the luxuries of the men engaged in the mining industry. 18 million dollars were paid for power to run the industry in 1937, 20 million dollars were paid for freight and express by the mining companies alone.

The Province of Nova Scotia sold to the mining industry of Ontario and Quebec some 373,000 tons of coal, and the mining of that coal gave 160,000 man-days of employment to the miners of Nova Scotia.

An industry which produces annually 452 million dollars worth of minerals is a tremendous industry to cater to and you will be glad to know that ninety per cent. of the mining equipment and the supplies purchased for that industry were purchased in Canada. In catering to that industry, this city and every manufacturing town and city in this

province and in Quebec and elsewhere is feeling the purchasing power of these millions of dollars pouring out into the trade channels of this country. 150 million dollars were disbursed as dividends from the metal mines in 1937.

Our export trade in metals in 1937 was about 328 millions of dollars, close to 30 per cent. of the total export trade of Canada. Hon. Mr. Crerar is authority for the statement that our 1937 external trade in minerals was sufficient to pay for all our imports from the rest of the British Empire and all the principal foreign countries, except the United States.

When we look at Canada's total foreign trade we find our imports for the twelve months ending, September 1937, amounted to 777 millions, while our exports, including gold bullion, had reached a total of 1,142 million dollars. These figures tell much of the part that metals and metal mining are playing in the Province of Ontario and in the Dominion of Canada.

In our gold fields Canada operated last year 128 gold milling plants, with an average production of 42,000 tons a day. 30 new mills are promised as an addition to that for 1938, increasing the total production capacity by 5,000 tons daily, so that across Canada, by the end of 1938, we will be mining gold ore at the rate of 47,000 tons a day.

In addition to our gold we have made new records in the production of nickel, of copper, of lead, of zinc, of platinum, and the search for these metals, which contribute in such a substantial way to business, must go on. There is today in the mining world a determination not only that the search shall go on, but that the benefits of mining shall extend to and embrace an increasing number of people in Canada in peace time.

It has been suggested that I should discuss as well the phase of Canada's minerals in war time. As one usually thinks of the metal, nickel, when war is mentioned, because of former agitations to prohibit its export and to control it, perhaps it is of interest to look in a special way at what

this nickel industry is in peace times. Let me give you a few facts.

In 1937 it had a wage and salary roll of some 20 million dollars. Its timber purchases for mining uses last year amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars and of that amount, some 600 thousand dollars went for the purchase of fir and other timber material from British Columbia. It consumes about 350,000 tons of Canadian coal per annum. It consumes 150 to 175 thousand tons of coke. It is a very large purchaser of mine equipment and supplies. Its contribution to railway traffic runs up to the millions. As a consumer it uses all the power available through its plants in the vicinity of Sudbury and in addition to that it is taking large quantities over the transmission line from the Abitibi Canyon. It is a producer of nickel, copper, platinum, gold, silver, selenium, and all the metals extracted from this one ore, for these metals all occur in the nickel-copper ores of Sudbury. They are refiners of copper and nickel in Canada. It will be interesting to you to know that with their vast organization in this country for the production of nickel, only one per cent. of the nickel produced in Canada is consumed in Canada and that ninety-nine per cent. of that great production is for export.

Last year, according to the Ontario Government figures, the nickel produced had a value approaching $58\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars, copper a value of $42\frac{1}{3}$ million dollars, platinum a value of 8 to 10 million, or a total production value of over 110 million dollars. International Nickel produced 94 per cent. of Canada's nickel and 60 per cent. of the copper. The chief consumers of this nickel were the United States, the principal customer, and the British Isles. The uses of nickel, as you know, are many now because of the alloy age brought about by research laboratory work, chiefly after the war. In the automotive industry nickel is indispensable and it is indispensable in the shipping industry for the handling of tank cars. It is indispensable in the railway industry. It is indispensable in the building of

engines and lighter trucks and equipment. It is indispensable in the chemical industry. It is indispensable in the agricultural industry, and in the paper industry.

So the use of this great metal, called nickel, is one that is month by month increasing. The market for nickel is expanding because the world, in this modern age, has found need for new alloys, in which nickel plays such a part, in a larger field and one of greater opportunity. All the nations of the world require this metal if they are to keep abreast of what these new alloys can do.

It is interesting to note that in the early days of nickel its chief use was for armaments and for what are called war purposes. With the close of the Great War that great use passed. Today it is estimated that of the great production of nickel, 95 per cent. goes for peace uses. Certainly five to ten per cent. would cover all the nickel demanded for war. So, with this scientific research, with the labour and skill of our mining men, the genius and the daring of them, Canada stands today as a great vendor of nickel. She has on her counters for sale to the world and she is producing some 20 metals, 4 fuels and 26 non-metallic minerals.

I have taken that industry to show in a short way the extent of it in peace times, and when it is suggested, as I pointed out, that we discuss Canada's minerals from a war standpoint, the mind of Canada naturally focusses itself on this great metal, nickel, and the mind turns back—mine does for I went to live in Sudbury in 1901—to the agitations of former years to prohibit the export of nickel. My mind goes back to the effort to build up a national antagonism against the International Nickel Company of the Sudbury District, and to spread propaganda that nickel must not be allowed to leave the country as it was being sold to Germany to kill our soldiers. These stories were the order of the day in 1914.

I am going to review these stories shortly because in recent months you have heard from time to time, a peep here

and a cheep there, with the same cry against the exportation of nickel. Only the other night, in my home town of Sudbury, under the euphonious name of the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy, a speaker was advocating prohibiting the export of nickel. So we might as well discuss these things, and in our discussion let us look back and ask ourselves just what happened in the last Great War with reference to nickel.

Before I tell you that story may I first refer to the part the International Nickel Company itself played in that war? I was a member for the District of Sudbury in 1914. It wasn't until some ten or eleven years after that I became Minister of Mines for the Province of Ontario. On the 14th of August, 1914, I suggested to the head of the International Nickel Company, (because in those days Orders-in-Council were being passed every day putting many things on the contraband list), that it would be in the interests of all if they laid the International Nickel Company, whose source of supply was in Canada but whose refining operations then were being carried on in the United States, at the feet of the British Government. The suggestion was immediately taken up and the Canadian head of that institution went to New York. He arrived there on the morning of the 17th of August, 1914. On that day in Sudbury I received a telegram asking me to go to New York, and I arrived there on the 19th of August, 1914, when I went into a conference with the executives of the International Nickel. That afternoon the head of the American Company and the head of the Canadian Company and myself left for the City of Ottawa and we arrived there on the 20th of August, 1914, and by three o'clock of that afternoon an arrangement was concluded whereby every pound of nickel produced and refined was to be sold in co-operation with and under the advice of an officer of the British Admiralty.

That arrangement was kept faithfully and honourably, right up until the close of the war and I would remind you that at the time the United States was a neutral country,

but the attitude of this great nickel company was to play the game with Canada, with the Empire, and the Allies, so that whatever help derived from nickel and its uses would be for the Allies and for nobody else.

Later on, in December of 1914, an agitation was commenced, originating in the City of Toronto, to prohibit the export of nickel, and the usual harrowing tales were told: that nickel was being supplied to the enemy, to Germany, that it was slaughtering our soldiers, that the nickel works should be shut down at once, and one can understand that there was considerable anxiety and that bonafide, honest Canadian citizens felt that perhaps some action along those lines should be taken. Some of the press of the City of Toronto in that day, notably the old Toronto World, joined in the hue and cry and everywhere throughout the Province went clever propaganda to prohibit the export of nickel. The British Government, the Canadian Government, had expressed themselves, without giving the details, that they were perfectly satisfied with the arrangement in existence for the control of nickel, but that didn't seem to satisfy those who had an ulterior purpose and an ulterior motive in setting this cry in motion, but these gentlemen who had a motive overplayed their hand. They went to the then Toronto Globe to see if the Globe wouldn't join them in putting this scheme across and the Globe, in an editorial of December 29th, 1914, said in part: "In the month of October a very well-known Toronto citizen visited the Globe office and suggested that The Globe begin a campaign for the absolute prohibition of the export of nickel ore, matte, or oxide from Canada to any country not within the Empire. The opinion was expressed by The Globe's caller that the relations between the Hon. Frank Cochrane, a member of the Borden Government, and the Nickel Trust were such that Mr. Cochrane would exercise his powerful influence to prevent the Government from putting an embargo on nickel exports, which must greatly cripple the Nickel Company. If the Government refused to prevent

the export of nickel ore or matte to the refineries of the United States The Globe would be able, so we were assured, to make out a strong case against the Government for indirectly aiding Germany. In the background of the conversation could be seen the huge headline, "Cochrane a Traitor, Borden Backs Him Up."

"The visitor, warming to his subject, incidentally confessed to "an interest in nickel." What that interest was The Globe did not ascertain, for its own interest in the visitor's statement ceased there and then. When anyone seeks to injure a business rival in the name of patriotism and party it is high time to sheer off and give the proposition calm and serious consideration.

"The Globe would like to see Canada's nickel refined in Canada, so that the people who originally owned the nickel deposits and gave them away to the predecessors of the Nickel Trust may get at least some benefit from one of the world's greatest mineral deposits. The immediate prohibition of the export of nickel to countries outside of the British Empire would, however, not mean the refining of the nickel in Canada. What it would mean would be the immediate shutting down of the Nickel Trust's mines and roasting plant at Copper Cliff, and a very great increase in the output of the Mond Company, which would for a time have an absolute monopoly of the nickel business, because its refineries are at Swansea in Wales. It could thus operate under an embargo order which would prevent a pound of unrefined nickel from going to the United States or any other neutral country.

"The Globe does not believe for a moment that The Mond Company is behind the agitation to prevent export to any other country than Great Britain. British business concerns have learned to fight fairly in the open instead of attempting to throttle their rivals from behind in the dark. The most likely explanation of the activity of the patriots who are combining business with love of country is that some group of capitalists owning nickel properties want to

secure a bonus or a subsidy for the refining of nickel in Canada, and believe that the easiest way of getting their hand into the public purse is by declaring that the Germans are getting Canadian nickel from the United States. If that is the plot, the assurance from Ottawa that the British Government is entirely satisfied with existing conditions will be either jeered at or ignored. The attempt to tie up The Globe with the Nickel Trust is a little too clever to succeed.

"If any group of business men want to smash the Trust by fair competition they will have no warmer supporter than The Globe. But any attempt to use patriotism as a jimmy to pry open the public till and secure therefrom aid to destroy a business rival will be fought, as it deserves to be, to the last ditch. The Globe sympathizes with the patriots. It represents the efforts of the plotters to injure its reputation because it refused to join in their ambush."

As The Globe points out, when the motives behind it were uncovered, that attempt failed but by 1917, these attempts were revived once more and this time the objective was political. They wanted to point the finger at the Government of the day and again circulated the stories of nickel reaching the enemy and all the stories that would harrow the heart and mind of the people of Canada. When that agitation started those behind it gave as their reason that John R. Rathom, Editor and General Manager of the Providence Journal, had stated that the International Nickel's products were being sold to Germany, that Germany was obtaining these and that something should be done about it. It created quite a reaction in Canada at that time. I was still a private member of the House and I took the liberty of writing to Mr. Rathom. Mr. Rathom had come to Canada and addressed this Club in June of 1917. He was a great popular figure in the United States. He had covered through his paper the activity of Germans in the United States during that crisis and in that letter that I wrote on the 18th of June, 1917, I pointed out that stories were being circulated, impugning the integrity of the executives

of International Nickel Co., who to my knowledge had made this arrangement with the British Government and I asked Mr. Rathom to state just what he had to say and whether there was any reason for the statements that were being circulated here. I have Mr. Rathom's letter here to read:

Providence, R.I.

June 23rd, 1917.

Dear Sir:

In reply to yours of June 18th, I do not hesitate to write to you what I have already stated publicly many times, both in Canada and in this country—that, as far as we know, Canadian nickel has not been going to Germany for a long time, with the single exception of the shipment on the Deutschland referred to by us several months ago.

Even in this instance, as shown by our story, the nickel which left New London on the Deutschland had been in the United States for at least two years prior to being shipped and, as far as we know, the officers of the International Nickel Company had long since lost all interest in or connection with that particular tonnage.

It has always seemed inconceivable to us that the officers of that corporation should have ever deliberately permitted any direct traffic of this kind since the beginning of the war, and we know of no instance where this has been done.

We have noted with concern that our assertion with regard to the shipment of the nickel referred to on the Deutschland was in some quarters taken to mean that there was some direct connection between the International Company and the consignment of this nickel. Never, however, in any of our published stories was there any hint or suggestion that this was the case.

All we did was to print the exact facts relating to the shipment, in what warehouses it had been stored for a long period of time, the roundabout way in which

it was taken from one point to another, and the fact that it originally came from the International people. We did not draw any connection between these facts and the charge that the International knew anything whatever of the destination of this particular shipment, and no fair-minded person reading the stories could draw any such conclusion.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) "JOHN R. RATHOM."

So the second attempt, to create the difficulties which would come if nickel and its export were prohibited, was scotched, but it is interesting, in connection with the reference in Mr. Rathom's letter to the incident of nickel that had gone on the Deutschland, to note that under the arrangement made with the Canadian Government in August of 1914, governing this control of nickel, the International Nickel Company was permitted to sell the metal to its regular customers in the States for peace uses. The United States was a neutral country where the International Nickel Company was carrying on the business of refining its product. In October of 1914, one of its customers, who was suspected of German sympathies, ordered a larger quantity than was his usual custom. Mr. Monel, who was the President of International Nickel at that time, (and there was no warmer friend in the United States to the Allies in this country than the late Ambrose Monel), refused to sell him this shipment and the customer got very wrathful and went to the Secretary of State for the United States, at that time, Mr. William Jennings Bryan, and there was some discussion as to why this man couldn't get his nickel. The facts were laid by Mr. Monel before the Admiralty. Mr. Monel wanted to adhere to his position and refused to sell the nickel, but the Admiralty advised: "We can't risk any blow-up at this stage. Let him have his nickel and we will see that it doesn't reach Germany; if that is his intention we will pick it up on the high seas." As a matter of fact, as Mr.

Rathom pointed out, that shipment of nickel was moved from warehouse to warehouse, covering a period of two years in an attempt to get it out of the country. It wasn't until the submarine Deutschland came over in 1917, that a small part of that shipment was put on that boat. That was all the nickel that ever reached the enemy during the war under the supervision and control set up to protect us under just such conditions.

I point these things out now because there may come a time when these agitations will start again. We know that 99 per cent. of the nickel we produce is sold out of the country. We want to see this business expand and when from quarters, largely now from people who do not belong to this country, there is urged upon the citizens of the country an agitation to prohibit the export of nickel, we must be on our guard, particularly when this propaganda comes, as I say, from organizations known as the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy. An organization with a similarly sounding name which preceded was the League Against War and Fascism, which the Honourable Minister of Justice in Canada pointed out last year was tainted with Communism.

Well, these organizations with these appealing names will grow up and Canadians must be on their guard. However, since the passing of the days to which I refer many great changes have taken place. The refining of nickel is now done in Canada and this great corporation has become a Canadian corporation, known as the International Nickel Company of Canada, and all of the mines and the refineries, all of the stock of the subsidiaries of the company are held under the ownership of the International Nickel Co. of Canada, and the majority of the Directors are British subjects, so that we, in my humble judgment, have nothing to fear under any circumstances as to the conduct and operation of these mines in case we should ever become involved again.

But in times like these would Canada be wise to

prohibit the export of nickel to countries outside the British Empire? Isn't the trend and the thought today to improve trade, to exchange commodities internationally? There were wars long before nickel was heard of and unfortunately it would seem that there will be wars for generations to come. Are we to fall into any suggested trap of refusing to sell to nations, to be guilty of provocative action, to say that we are going to live within our own shell and not trade with the world? How would Canada feel if the nations from whom we acquire our goods said that they wouldn't sell to us? The whole aim of modern trade is to get away from that class of dealing and, as expressed by one very able gentleman in the Government at Ottawa, "Whatever the conflicting interests of countries, fair trading cannot fail to be beneficial. It is such friendly co-operation and not the mailed fist which will help to solve the major problems of the present day."

Now, so much in that short way for the history of nickel in war as we had it before. England listened to many pacifists for the past five or ten years, with the result that she finds herself in a position today where she is working overtime to try to catch up with defensive works and equipment, not for war but to make sure that England and the British Empire shall be protected. In that work Canada cannot afford to take any small stand. We, too, must be prepared to play our part if we value the great potentialities of this country and which are our hope and future.

Behind me on this wall hangs a map of Canada. The part shown in red, and which is by far the greatest portion of Canada, is that section known to all of us as the Pre-Cambrian shield. On that map you will observe white dots, in Quebec, in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and on up to the Northwest Territories, to indicate the headquarters of mining activity, beacons pointing to the great development which must come in this great hinterland of Canada. As one looks at Quebec, with its mineral production last year of 60 million dollars, at Ontario,

with 227 million dollars, at Manitoba with 17 million dollars, one realizes just what a contribution these outposts of a great basic industry are making to Canada's business world. On into the great sweeps of the Northwest Territories, developments are taking place which will put this part of the country as a mining area on the map. Just now the finger is pointing to the great new section of Yellowknife. I am quite satisfied from what I know of the District that before the end of 1938 Canada will record two new gold producers up in that far extremity of the Dominion of Canada. Off to the west of the red line we have the great new oil field of Alberta. We have in the British Columbia section the great lead-zinc works of Consolidated Smelters. These vast industries are playing a tremendous part in this country's development. We are in an era which I believe must be a new speculative one for Canada. The business men of today must adopt a new viewpoint on Canadian development, particularly in mining, as the forefathers of this country did when they started to build and develop this great country called Canada. There is great opportunity and hard work ahead for Canadians, and generations from now men will still be searching for and finding great mines. It is wisdom on the part of Canadians that we should begin to enlarge our business world, that we should increase our business activity, that we should have other pillars and posts on which to rest our great load of taxation because the tax load is not lessening. There must be more shoulders to bear and carry it. The old saying that, "To him that hath shall be given," unless we change our ways, may invite a new saying, "From him that hath shall be taken." Some think a great amount of it is taken now, but unless we widen the business horizon of this great Dominion of Canada, that will be the position in which we will find ourselves.

Gentlemen, my time is up. I have only given you a hop, skip and jump idea of Canada's mining in peace and a review of the history of what happened some of her minerals in war. My hope is that the men of this great

Empire Club will take a widening and deeper interest in the expansion of mining in this great Dominion of Canada. I thank you.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. McCrea, you are a good hop, skip and jumper. We are very grateful to you for giving us of your time and experience, for your optimism and your enthusiasm, so needed today. You have heard the informal thanks of your audience and I now thank you formally, on behalf of the members of the Empire Club of Canada, and your radio audience, for this splendid address today.

The meeting is adjourned.

CANADA'S PLACE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

AN ADDRESS BY G. G. McGEER, K.C., M.P.

Thursday, February 3rd, 1938

PRESIDENT: Our Guests, Members of the Empire Club of Canada: All those who take an interest in Canadian affairs and Canadian public events seem to have heard with respect, of our guest speaker today by his first name. Of necessity, at this moment I must be formal and being formal I say, our guest-speaker, Mr. McGeer, was born in Winnipeg, received his early education in Vancouver, and then passed through Ontario to study law in Nova Scotia. From Nova Scotia he again passed through Ontario to British Columbia where he practised law, became Mayor of Vancouver, a Member of the British Columbia Legislature, and now a Member of the House of Commons, but Ontario has him today. The Member for Vancouver has had a remarkable career. His personal qualities and his dynamic energy are well known to you all. Through his independence of mind and after much thoughtful study he has arrived at his present convictions. It is a hopeful sign that men with their future before them like Mr. McGeer are giving unstintingly of their time for the solution of our problems and Canadian problems are many, and before we Canadians have solved them we find ourselves faced with world problems.

The subject of the address today, "Canada's Place in World Affairs" is in most capable hands. I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Gerald G. McGeer, K.C., M.P. Mr. McGeer. (Applause.)

MR. G. G. McGEER, K.C., M.P.: Mr. President and Members of The Empire Club of Canada: When I received the kindly invitation of your Executive, extending

to me the privilege of addressing this very august and representative group of Canadians, I gladly accepted the opportunity and the honour, because I believe that we, in the West, and you, in the East, can do well to get together as much as possible. (Applause.) For, whatever our place in the world may be, it cannot be of any real consequence, either to Canada or to the Empire or to the world, unless we, as Canadians, can show something of the unity of spirit that is essential to Canadian peace and to Canadian progress and prosperity. You know, there are times in the lives of individuals and there are times in the history of the world, and in the course of nations, when the opportunity to disagree, when the spirit of dissension, when the spirit of futility of effort seems to overshadow that spirit of courageous and hopeful optimism that is born of people who are building a nation together in a spirit of co-operative good.

As one who is privileged to see much of Canadian life from the shores on the Atlantic to the coast line on the Pacific, and who has been privileged to sit in the inner Council, not only of Provincial Legislative Assemblies, but in this, I think, most difficult of all governmental positions, that of the Mayoralty of a substantial Canadian city, and who has also had the privilege of seeing our Canadian Parliament in action from the inside, both from the House of Commons and the Caucus Chamber, one does get probably a little different point of view than those who are always able to govern the country, whether it be in the city or the province or the Dominion, without ever assuming the responsibility of facing the electors to see whether or not they want him to sit in any one of those places. You know, I always think it is much easier to run the affairs of the country from outside the legislative halls than it is when you are face to face with that exceptional conflict of demands which causes you to look expectantly at the voter in the hope that you will satisfy him in all the expenditures, at the same time looking to the future

effect, and feeling, too, that you are looking at one whose only regard for you is that someone will assassinate you before he has to.

You know, I often think as we look out at the future today, that we are always inclined to think our own troubles are just a little bit more trying than the other fellow's, and we carry that through, en masse, and we easily come to the conclusion that we who live today are the most pestered and the most afflicted of all the peoples that have ever lived upon this earth. Personally, I don't think that is true. I think we are the most pampered and favoured of all the people that have ever lived on this earth.

It is a terrible situation to be living on the Pacific Coast. When you pick up the newspapers and see what our friends, the Japanese are doing to their good friendly neighbours in China and, of course, living out there, when some people in Canada feel that the Rocky Mountains constitute an adequate defense system on the west for the Dominion of Canada, some of us feel, well, just a little bit lonely and isolated at times. You know, I have said to some of my friends out there, "Well, I wonder if we are as badly off, for instance, as the 5,000,000 people who were living in England at the time Spain launched the Great Armada that was going to sweep up the Atlantic and wipe the British off those very isolated Islands in the North Sea." I think, if we have anything to fear at all upon the Pacific Coast, had we lived in those days with what was before those people, we would never have survived at all, we would have all died of fear and heart failure.

When we look at our problems today and think they are difficult, how would we like to set out like Jacques Cartier did, on that lovely morn in May, to sweep across the Atlantic Ocean in the cockle-shell type of ship that he sailed down the St. Lawrence River in? Or, how would you have liked to face the problems of the little group that came with Champlain to establish the colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence River, with practically nothing in the

way of equipment, outside of a few tools, with little or nothing in the way of supplies but the facilities of taking a livelihood out of that cold and lonely shore?

I was down in Quebec the other day and it was one of those days that they can have in Quebec. I walked out around the Citadel and I said, "You know, I am mighty glad I wasn't one of the fellows that started this show about 300 years ago." We haven't anything like the difficulties and we haven't anything like the problems to face today to bring about a condition of Canadian progress and prosperity that those who have builded before us faced and successfully overcame.

I often think probably the best inspiration that we can have, that inspiration that will give us confidence to go on into the future is to be found in the record of achievement of the builders of this Dominion. There is a great deal of thrilling romance in Canadian history. No one can look back to that conflict on the Plains of Abraham, when two heroes of two heroic races fell, and when from the sacrifices of Montcalm and Wolfe was born the idea of two great races joining together to build a Dominion as their national home. One cannot go through the work of Governor Murray, the terms of the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal, of the conditions of North America during the 70's when the Boston Tea Party was the center of the revolutionary flames that spread right into this Dominion, without recognizing the influence that that North American disturbance had upon Canadian affairs, because it was in the year 1774 I think, the year before Arnold and Montgomery captured Saint John, Quebec, and Montreal, and drove Carlton back to the last citadel in Quebec, that the charter of rights was extended to the French-Canadians in Canada. That period carried through to the time of the Constitution and in the experimentation of developing a nation as a bi-racial, political entity, many experiments that I sometimes feel have been forgotten by those who would change and amend our

Constitution today, experiments that have gone a long way to laying sound precedent for our own guidance at the moment. Out of the Durham Report came the first attempt to establish in Canada a Legislative Union, and under the Act of Union, under the great genius for colonial administration of Sir Guy Carlton, that experiment was given a reasonable trial. It had the assistance of such great minds as Baldwin and Lafontaine, but it wasn't a success and out of the failure was born the need for a new deal, which was promised by the Cartier MacDonald Government in 1858, and consummated through the work of the Fathers of Confederation in 1867.

When we look back today and view the work of that group of men who struggled, with an empire in their minds, to unite the British colonies in North America under a Constitution that would make it possible for them to build a nation out of a wilderness, we cannot help but get some inspiration to tackle, courageously and fearlessly and confidently, some of the problems that face us at the moment. You know, in 1867, there were less than 3 million people in Canada. And, just so you may appreciate what that means, there are 2,400,000 children going to our schools in Canada today and whenever we think of our problems and the future of our Dominion we should directly charge ourselves with the responsibility of thinking in terms of the future of those 2,400,000 children that are going to be the Canadians of tomorrow.

Banking wasn't a very good game in those days in Canada. They only had about 100 million dollars to play with. But they didn't hesitate to assume the responsibility of building the intercolonial railway as the connecting thread, as the life stream that would bind those four eastern provinces together. I don't know of any responsibility that we can collectively face today that involves anything like a proportionate national responsibility as the intercolonial railway in those days.

But mark the vision and the faith of those men. They

did that in 1867 and within four years, in 1871, they decided to carry the idea of the Dominion of the British Empire in North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific and they assumed the obligation of constructing a national transcontinental railway and carried through the idea and, incidentally, burdened the Dominion of Canada with the necessity of building a line of defense upon the Pacific Coast in 1938.

Now, of course, we might look back and say "Oh, well, it would have been better if we hadn't had any Empire builders in the Dominion of Canada," but I doubt if there is any Canadian that would incline to any such spirit or sentiment, because today things are different from what they were seventy years ago, and Canada holds a unique place, not on the North American Continent, but in the whole world of human affairs. I am inclined to think the Fathers of Confederation in the spirit they put into our Constitution, builded better than they knew for today our civilization faces the challenge of international piracy associated with soulless Fascism, and Communism, and Paganism in more than one form, and if the freedom of our democracy survives it will be because some great force and some great influential power shall bring together the peoples of France, of the United States and of Great Britain and the British Empire. (Applause.) The civilizations that they have built up and established, uniting and keeping united can maintain a world leadership toward that Dominion over earth which shall bring peace to men of good will, and without that leadership there will be no peace upon this earth of ours.

Well, I think that by uniting as they did under the Canadian Constitution, the French-Canadians and the Anglo-Canadians, in the work of developing a national home, the Fathers of our Confederation assumed the responsibility for the bold spirit of proving that two peoples of different races, of different customs, and different language and different religion, can live together, building a

nation in peace and in co-operative good will. (Applause.) That unique partnership that has thrived for more than 70 years and is still thriving and is going to go on thriving, that partnership successful today, is not altogether confined to Canada because our relationship with the people of the United States for more than 125 years has proven another thing, that while two races can join together in the partnership of building a nation, two peoples under different governments can join together in building and developing the Empire of the North America Continent. Our happy relations between Anglo and French-Canadian people in Canada, our 4,000 miles of boundary line between the United States and this Dominion, which can be properly described as 4,000 miles of neighbourly good will, proves to the world that, no matter of what race or language or religion, people of good will can live together and live together in peace and prosperity.

Now, as we look on the world today, is it not a happy thing and should it not be a matter of prideful boast for every Canadian, that our people have their roots back in old France, that they have their roots back in the British Isles, and that in this friendship with the United States we move across a Continent and across the Pacific Ocean to meet again the peoples of Great Britain, not only in Shanghai and Hong Kong, the people of France in Indo-China, the American responsibility in the Phillipines, and that great outpost of democracy, the naval fortress and base in the Pacific Ocean, of Singapore, and on down to the Antipodes to the people of New Zealand and Australia. The Fathers of our Confederation built Canada on the basis that today it may form the keystone of the arc that will carry that great strength for freedom and liberty and democracy and for world peace that is to be found in the alliance of the French and English-speaking races of the world.

Canada has a great place in the world today and the place she holds puts upon her great responsibility and in the face of those responsibilities Canada should face the

need for Canadian unity as she never faced it before. (Applause.) There can be no East or West in this Dominion and there can be no conflict of sectional interests. Canada is a united nation of the two-ocean powered variety and I often think when you look at our great transportation systems, the largest in the world, not confined by any means to the Dominion alone, but centered in our Dominion, reaching across the vast expanses and spreading out to the markets of every nation in the world, crossing every sea upon the shores of which men live, we cannot be of this world and not in it and, my friends, we cannot be in the British Empire and not of it. (Applause.)

Now, in the few minutes at my disposal, I would just like to say one or two words on the things that I think have made for our success. When people have great work to do they don't have time to disagree over the little things and you know, most of our disagreements come over very inconsequential details, both of individuals and provinces and peoples. What is there that we have to do upon which we can unite? Is there some practical problem of reconstruction?

Well, is there a man in this room who doesn't believe that Canada would be much better off if we had a real rehousing programme that would clean up the housing conditions in every one of our Canadian cities? Of course you do. I think most of you probably have read that very excellent contribution that the Royal Bank of Canada made to our economic well-being in the Dominion, its November letter, where it pointed out that our tourist trade is now worth some 300 million dollars a year. Is there a man in this room that doesn't think that the Dominion of Canada would be better off if we had a real system of highways built on modern standards? Is there a man here who doesn't believe if that tourist trade, pushing in under present conditions has now reached 300 millions, that it couldn't be doubled under a proper highways system and under a proper tourist trade policy of development? Well, is there

anyone here who wouldn't believe we would be better off if instead of having 381,000 unemployed we had all of those able to work at work building houses and building highways and creating real assets in our Dominion? Of course we do.

Well, let me put it to you. If England, carrying the load she was carrying under the debt of the Great War can move forward to a housing programme, compelled to import her lumber, what in the world can be preventing us from going to work on our own forests, producing the materials with our own labour that are essential to a housing programme that the Dominion of Canada needs just as badly as England needed hers?

Now, I know it is difficult to review in detail many things that one would like to say at a luncheon of this kind, but let me put it to you in this broad way. If you will compare our situation today with the situation of our people in 1867, you will find these startling comparisons. They had 100 million dollars in the bank. We have 2,800 million dollars in our banks, 1,500 million of which is in our savings bank deposits.

Now, I want to go a little bit further and say that in that accumulation of money savings, the Dominion of Canada is one of the richest nations in the world today, notwithstanding her debt obligations. But that is not all. In addition to those savings, a portion, of course, of which is invested, I know we have an idle Canadian credit, not on any vague theory of managed currency or inflationary enthusiasms, but under the cold legal limitations and restrictions of our Bank of Canada Act—our Bank Act, our Legal Currency and our Money Act is within the four corners of the statutes now controlling and within the definite limits of banking practice—we, in the Dominion of Canada, have reserves to support over 9 billion dollars of additional bank deposit credit. Now, I don't want to say that there is 9 billions of credit available, but what I do say, without that outside limit of our legal possibilities, there is ample credit

with which to put this Dominion of Canada to work doing the things that can be done as sound and reasonable propositions.

In the matter of energy, just as with credit, we have far more than we can use. In 1867 animal and man power was largely the energy that built the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific Railways. Today, we have three times the people, and what about the new energy that science has placed at our disposal? As compared with the people of Canada of 1867 we have steam power, internal combustion engine power and electrical energy available—you see it on every job—which gives us the control of energy that is equivalent of a power of 320 million slaves. What are we doing with our credit? What are we doing with our heritage of resources? What are we doing with the energy that science has placed at our disposal? We are not doing what the Fathers of Confederation or their predecessors did, because they took their opportunities, based upon a blind faith and went forward, building to the very limit of their resources. We are hanging back, holding in on a safety first basis, crying for some one else to do the job that we should be glad to tackle. Canada's place in the world today is one in which she faces the challenge of the trusteeship of that great heritage that was left to us by the men who built this Dominion. We cannot isolate ourselves within the four walls of our own nation. We are citizens of the world and in the progress of this world or in its failure we will thrive or disappear. Canada, greatest of the overseas Dominions of the British Empire, neighbor of the people of the United States, with friends and relatives and peoples on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, has a place that every Canadian should be proud of and that every Canadian should sense, something that marks Canadian citizenship as a thing to be maintained as a standard for the world.

(Cheers—prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. McGeer, we have listened with great

interest to your instructive and inspiring address and we have all profited by it. We know of the many calls upon your time and we are grateful to you for giving us this opportunity of hearing from you. May you be spared assassination to address us many times again!

On behalf of The Empire Club of Canada, our guests and the radio audience, I thank you.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

TURNER VALLEY—ITS RESOURCES AND POSSIBILITIES

AN ADDRESS BY W. S. CAMPBELL

Thursday, February 10th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: It does not seem many years since we in the East thought of the Canadian West, or I should say the Middle West, in terms of cattle and wheat, but of late years we have heard a great deal about a new discovery of major importance to Canada and the Empire—oil in Alberta.

Canada's natural resources are many. Our past and present prosperity have depended on these resources and our future depends on Nature's bountiful gifts to this Dominion and our proper use of them.

We listened with great interest to the address by the Honourable Mr. McCrea on Canadian minerals in peace and war. Last week Mr. McGeer in his address spoke of the wealth of our natural resources and the East and the West knowing more of each other. Believing that we should know more of this new found wealth in Turner Valley we invited Mr. Walter S. Campbell, President of the Alberta Petroleum Producers' Association to address us and we are indebted to him for breaking his journey home and being with us today.

Much has been written on the urgent need for Empire oil in peace and war. Can Canada supply it? No one is better qualified than our guest-speaker to tell us the history and the actual conditions in the Turner Valley as they are today, of the future as to its longevity as a producing field and the prospects for future fields in Canada. To our guests, the Members of the Empire Club of Canada, and our radio audience, I have much pleasure in introducing

Mr. Walter S. Campbell, of Edmonton, Alberta. The subject of his address—"Turner Valley—Its Resources and Possibilities." Mr. Campbell. (Applause.)

MR. WALTER S. CAMPBELL: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: May I at once thank you very kindly for the invitation to appear here today on behalf of the Petroleum Producers' Association, and to address this very splendid audience on the subject of oil for Canada and the Empire. May I express, too, my grateful appreciation for the kindnesses and courtesies that have been extended to the members of our party during our visit to Eastern Canada and those memories we shall take home with us, not soon to be forgotten.

May I, if time permits, deal with the production, the development and the marketing and transporting of Canadian oil to Canadians. As you know, we have appeared here before, or in Ottawa rather, before the Tariff Board of Canada, for the purpose of doing four or five things. First, we must set the foundation upon which all other things must be built, that is the supply, and we brought with us from the United States, experts to estimate that supply and, also, the percentage that may be recovered from that horizon, which I shall deal with in a few moments.

May I say, without breaking faith with anybody, because this enquiry is not quite concluded, that the evidence given before that Board was that this field that you see on the wall here extends fifteen miles in length, from the north to the south, about one mile in width, and has a potential reserve of approximately 500 million barrels of oil.

One of the world's experts, Mr. Shaw, gave evidence as to the recovery that could be obtained from that structure. He pointed out that he had taken himself from 25 to 95 per cent. from limestone horizons in the United States and he estimated 40 per cent. from Turner Valley structure. That estimate was not large because we had very little knowledge at that time of just what the velocity was and what the permanent ability was in that particular limestone foundation.

Now, the next thing to do after having discovered from those experts the maximum of recoverable oil was to find out what the value of the oil was—I shall deal with that a little later—and to secure from our good friends to the right here, a pipe line accommodation at the Valley, which of course was very generously granted, and to deal with gas conservation and to secure markets in Eastern Canada and the Empire as well.

Now, may I very briefly touch upon the history of the development of oil in Canada. This is the first address I have made on the Turner Valley situation. I am not particularly accustomed to public speaking but I shall do the best I can.

Oil was discovered in Canada and in the United States very nearly the same year. It was discovered in 1859 at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in the United States, and in 1861 the oil springs in Lambton County in the Province of Ontario were discovered. The development in the early days of the Ontario field was very rapid and some of the wells ran as high as 5,000 and 10,000 barrels, and the highest production, I believe, reached somewhere in the neighbourhood of 900,000—825,900, in the year 1884. Gradually it was reduced until in 1903 it was half that amount and in 1906 there was 165,000 barrels production in the Ontario field.

Now, it is interesting at this point to just make one reference to a remark that was made in the House of Commons on May the 5th, 1890, by Sir John A. MacDonald. On that day there was a debate dealing with the Edmonton and Calgary Railway charter and it was before the House and was being discussed as to what should and should not be done in regard to grants. The Honourable David Mills had taken part in the debate that day. Sir John A. MacDonald, in speaking of that particular territory, which is now developing and has produced oil, said, "There are indications of large deposits of petroleum in that country that will some day be of great value to the Dominion of

Canada." So this day has arrived when it will be of great value not only to Canada but to the Empire as well.

Now, for the development in the Province of Alberta. There are about 250,000 square miles in that Province, and it is estimated by experts that there are 100,000 square miles of potential oil land. Before I come to the development of the Turner Valley itself, note that the discovery of oil is not bounded by the boundaries of Turner Valley. There are thirteen or fourteen other places in the Province of Alberta where oil has been discovered, of varying gravity and of varying amounts, that is crude oil, and there isn't any doubt in the world that these fields will be proven up in the next year or two, large blocks and structures, from the boundary straight through for 700 miles, you can find the same structures as are being developed today in the Turner Valley.

There has been in the neighbourhood of \$75,000,000 spent in Turner Valley development. Now, Turner Valley and I want to keep it as broad as I can because it is not confined to the Valley itself, is a Canadian, a national development. It is your development and our development. It lies in the Valley, about 40 miles south and west of Calgary and as I said a moment ago it extends today as a developed area from the point at the north to the point at the south, about fifteen miles. There are 10,000 acres in that, going from this point to that point, and that contains about 50,000 barrels per acre, based upon 15 per cent. velocity and about 100 feet in thickness, as far as the producing horizon is concerned.

Now, in part of that field there are two horizons, one over 100 foot, and the other about 100 foot, so in making the estimate they were fairly conservative, I think, because they estimated 100 foot over all. There are wells drilling to the north, wells drilling all the way, some seven miles to the south and others ten miles further south, and well to the west. Those wells will be drilled in the coming summer, some are drilling now, and if those wells come

into production and I am inclined to think they will, then that field will again be doubled and trebled within a very short space of time.

The structure, as you will notice, runs off about 20 degrees west. Until it gets very near the southwest, the most highly developed part from the crude oil point of view, it runs practically north and south.

Dr. Hume gave evidence before the Tariff Board, and Dr. Hume is, I think, the outstanding Canadian authority on that structure, and he pointed out as the anticline went south of High River (?), which I am pointing to now, instead of having a fault to the east (you are looking north now) with a fault to the west, this fault here would come more in the natural anticline and we would not only have a west flank, in his opinion, but we would have an east flank, as well. So you will see exactly the opportunities there are to double and treble the present estimate.

Now, from the surface down to the gas which we will speak about later, is approximately 6,500 feet in depth, and over on the west flank, the wells run about 7,500 feet. As I said, the limestone itself is about 450 feet, on the average, and there are two producing horizons in the 450 feet, totalling somewhat over 200 feet.

Now, the pressures vary. I will just pass on—perhaps it is not of interest to you but it is to those who develop for oil. The pressures in the south part of the field and in the southwest part of the field are almost the same as when that field came in, along in 1914 and again in 1924. They run as high as 2,300 to 2,500 pounds, bottom hole pressure. There have been in the fifteen miles by one mile area, some 250 wells drilled, and 144 have been completed. Of that 144, 97 are capable of producing wet gas. 9,000 permits have been issued, and 5 have been shut down. There are 20 wells drilling on the flank and 36 crude producers have been brought into production.

When you stop to think you realize that it was in June, 1936, or July, when the first crude well came in, and

in December, later on, in the southern area another crude well came in, and practically all that crude oil development has taken place in the short space of one year, and we have today approximately 30,000 barrel potential in that field.

Now, due to that rapid development, and I don't criticize anybody in particular, we became faced with a problem, and this is a problem that must be faced calmly, and we, on one side, and the producers, my good friends to the right, the refiners, must deal with that in a sensible way. It came on rather suddenly, we were so tied up with pipe capacity, and proration became effective on September 12th, to 65 per cent. of the potential of that date. Then, again, on November 1st it was reduced to 45, and on November 15th, to 35. Then our pipe line capacities were increased again on January 5th, 1938, increased to 24 per cent., and we have the assurance of our good friend, Mr. Le Sueur (?), in Ottawa, that that pipe line will be laid, the 6-inch line to Calgary, and that the pipe line capacity increased to some 24,000 barrels by springtime or thereabouts. I think that is fair to say that.

Now, proration has been discussed by many men in many places. We think that proration for the purpose of controlling markets or prices is wrong. We believe that the main thing right now, and I think you will all agree, the main thing right now is to get sufficient revenue from the field, without injury in any way, to continue on a fairly rapid development, in order that we can deal with railway transportation and pipe lines and that sort of thing. We believe there should be proration, if there is a wilful waste, if the sales are below cost or if there is destruction of the field or some chaotic condition that would, say, reduce the oil to far below the cost of production. We think that proration, and perhaps it cannot be avoided at the moment, I am not saying it can, we think it destroys public confidence and retards the development of that field. That is

one reason why we want to get away from it as rapidly as we can.

May I, before I go into the markets in Western Canada and in Eastern Canada, say a word to you, and place the picture before you, of the world situation. In 1937 the world production was 2,000 million barrels or thereabouts. The United States produced 1,600 million barrels, or 62 per cent. of that total, and in the world today, or at least in the United States today, there is estimated by competent authorities to be approximately 12,500 million barrels, or eight or ten years supply. Just in that connection might I read to you just a short quotation from Dr. Hume's 1937 reference to the world conditions on oil. He says:

"There is some fear in United States that this great production cannot be maintained, and although the oil industry is only beginning to catch up on overproduction it is well known that oil reserves have been steadily decreasing in spite of very intensive work to discover new supplies.

"The value of petroleum exported from the United States at present amounts to one-eighth the total value of all exports, and is exceeded only by cotton. Since 1933 the exports of oil have been increasing, but it is becoming apparent that this cannot continue. It is estimated that in 1934 the average cost of producing a barrel of crude oil in the United States was 77.5 cents, and the selling price was 98.4 cents."

And, Mr. Bignell, who is the petroleum engineer of the Oil and Gas Journal, has this to say.

"During 1937, production is indicated in the United States of 1,276 million barrels of crude. The total output of the world for 1937 is set at 2,000 million barrels. Under the ever-expanding needs of the industry this huge volume may be surpassed in 1938.

"Estimated oil reserves of the United States at the beginning of 1937 were 12,500 million barrels, or 10 years' supply at the rate of consumption indicated for 1937.

"This oil cannot be produced during the next 10 years from the present known fields, and it is therefore necessary to add to the oil reserves each year more than a billion barrels of new crude.

"While it is true as much new crude oil was discovered during the year 1937 as had been consumed in that period," Mr. Bignell points out, "to maintain the reserve has required the drilling of about 33,000 new oil wells. To continue drilling at this rate in the future will require the continual discovery of new prospective areas in which fresh fields may be developed."

That gives a picture of what is happening in the United States today in the matter of crude oil. From that source, as I have just read to you, we get 70 per cent. of our oil in 1936, and from South America, approximately 26 per cent., and from Canada, in 1936, approximately 4 per cent.

Now, let us deal, before I pass on, with Britain's supply. Great Britain gets most of her oil outside of the Empire. Less than 2 per cent. of her requirements are on British soil. I should like to read to you just a reference that I made to the Tariff Board on that situation. Here is an article that appeared in the "London Oil News":

"Attention is called to the serious fact that an Empire, covering a quarter of the surface of the earth, produces less than 2 per cent. of the world's oil. To assume that this area, some 14,000 square miles, has been specially selected so to speak, as one almost barren of petroleum, is to suppose an absurdity. Year after year passes by and very little extension takes place of the meagre areas in which British oil is found, or of the total production from those areas. Of the 200,000,000 tons of oil which the world produces annually, only some 3,000,000 tons is got on British soil. Let a great producing country or the union of two or three great oil groups decline supplies and our whole political and business existence would be in danger of collapse. The remedy is to explore the unexplored areas. Take for example, Western Canada. To suppose that we know all

we are likely to know about the oil resources of that part of the Empire is like a supposition already mentioned, an absurdity. There are probably 200,000 square miles there in which, on present evidence, an intensive geophysical search is warranted. True, this would require time, money and talent. The last named we have; the first is (within limits) what we make it. The second is the only pressing need. But the combined resources of the Dominion and the Mother Country should be equal to the demand—the Dominion of Canada, which has so much to gain from the discovery of first magnitude oil fields—the Mother Country which is almost entirely dependent on oil supplies from overseas.”

Lord Curzon is reported to have remarked a short time ago, “The Allies floated to victory on a sea of oil.”

Here is an article, a short one, that deals with France’s supply; and which is taken from Dr. Hume’s report.

France today has an oil supply of about one single well in Turner Valley, a well like one of those that produced, say, 1,500 barrels a day. France’s total supply is in the neighbourhood of half a million barrels a year.

Dr. Hume goes on to say:

“The lack of a domestic oil supply, oil reserves, and an established oil industry is a deficiency which possesses a serious national and international aspect. Oil derived from foreign sources is always subject to international complications, embargoes, foreign price control, whims of changing foreign governments and, in time of war, to blockade, attack and reprisal. It thus becomes the patriotic concern of the national government, backed and seconded by the Provincial Governments, to promote exploration, discovery and development of Canadian oil resources in order to render the Dominion less vulnerable in this respect if a time of international stress or foreign oil shortage should come. And the latter, if not the former, is bound to come. Oil cannot be discovered and a producing industry cannot be built up over night.”

I just read those to you to give you some idea, because just in January of this year an article appeared in the London Times—many of you gentlemen may have read it—and there the discussion is ever-recurrent of whether the British Navy should go back to dual firing and it was pointed out by the Government representatives that if it did they would still have need of coaling stations abroad. As you know, half of the British merchant marine are oil burners today.

So, when you stop to consider what the oil development means not only to Canada but to the Empire as well, you can readily see how anxious we are, and I think you are, to have this field developed.

Now, in the West, let us deal with markets. There are, from the eastern boundary of British Columbia, taking in a portion of the eastern boundary of British Columbia to Rainy River on the east, approximately 17,000 barrels per day and deducting from that the oil that must come in for asphalt purposes and other purposes, you have about 14,000 barrels per day. We have a potential of 30,000 barrels a day and it was estimated by Mr. ?? ?? ??, the Provincial Geologist, that by the end of 1938 there would be a potential of around 50,000 barrels per day. So you see we have not only enough to supply the 14,000 barrels in Western Canada, but we have, we believe, a supply sufficient to supply a small portion of Ontario's requirements immediately.

There are in Canada today some 54 large refining plants, producing in the neighbourhood of 86 or 87 million dollars in value of gross production. When you realize that 1,286 million gallons of crude oil are processed in Canada, and about 624 million gallons of gasoline are sold in Canada, which includes some 58 million gallons imported, you can readily see what it means in Canada in so many ways to have our industry developed. If you take 30,000 barrels a day—it is true we do not produce all—you have 30,000 multiplied by 300 days—you have 624 million gallons of gasoline sold today—and on a 42 per cent basis you would,

So, if we only move a small portion to start with it would at least be getting Canadian oil down here and once it started it would never stop.

Now, the next thing was to determine by men who were competent to judge, what was the value of our oil as compared to imported oil in the West. In Montana, there is the field, and to the south and the west, the Mid-Continent fields, and then there are the Oklahoma and the Texas fields. The situation is simply this: It just so happens that the oil today is \$1.30 in both cases. The gravity is slightly higher in Western Canada and in the Mid-Continent field. Well, a few cents difference is not very great and I think I can say to you in fairness, with one or two cents, one way or the other, the Turner Valley oil refineries in Toronto are producing oil at approximately 25 cents per barrel more than imported oils that you are getting from Oklahoma. Really, in a nutshell, the situation is this. Oklahoma is a distance of 1,100 or 1,200 miles from Sarnia. The oil field is supplying you, no doubt well. I don't think there are any large contracts to block progress. Over in Turner Valley in Canada you have another oil well that is your field and to Fort William is approximately 1,200 miles, too. We are assuming that Canadians can carry by pipe line, rail or lake and rail, oil as cheaply on this side of the line as they can on the other side. So, if we brought those two oils, one to Sarnia and the other to Fort William, at \$1.30 a barrel, in both fields there is still 25 cents a barrel left to carry oil down the lakes or by rail down to Sarnia from Fort William.

Now, I think you all know that the freight rates coming from Halifax westward are based rather on the water competition. If that is fair and that is just, then we believe it should be on the same basis coming eastward from Fort William, down to Sarnia. However, that is a matter that will be discussed next week, and perhaps that is the best time to put up those arguments.

Now, let us take the pipe line—just a reference as I pass

along. In Turner Valley there are some 50 miles of gathering lines and there are today—thirty, sixty, seventy-five miles of trunk lines, two four-inch lines and one six-inch line, about half way.

Now, those lines will shortly be placed under the Public Utilities Commission and rates will be set, as to what is fair and just to all concerned, and we may have a few cents to help to move a little further east when those decisions are given. There is no need for me to deal with that now, that is a matter that will come before the Commission and be dealt with in all its details.

We come to railway transportation and I say, frankly and fairly, from my correspondence with the officials of the railways and the heads of the railways, the Presidents, they are most anxious to do everything in their power to move this oil by rail and they have said so, because they realize that a great mistake was made in the United States some years ago when the railways decided to let the pipe lines handle the business and I think they wish today that the railways could have handled it all, and I think I am safe in saying, that I am fair in saying that the heads of the great refineries in Canada are more than anxious to move this oil to Eastern Canada if we can come within striking distance at all. The people of Canada and the Government of Canada have been very kind, not only to the oil industry in Canada for all these years, but to many other huge industries, like the textile industry, the fishing industry, the coal industry—and I am not having a word to say about that—they have been kind to help them, they have helped them to build up huge industries so they could stand on their own feet, so we have them today and they are a benefit to Canada because of that assistance that has been rendered.

Now, I speak to you, Gentlemen, today, because you are the leaders of industry in this country and you know these problems, perhaps better than I do. In all these cases that have been placed before Parliament and before tribunals,

of one kind and another, your friends have argued that it was beneficial to labour, that this assistance should be given, that it protected their investors and permitted reasonable earnings, fair wages and fair prices and the benefits of mass production and protection against chaotic conditions. All those arguments have been well and truly placed before the Boards and they accepted those arguments.

Now, I ask you this question. Can all those benefits be secured equally as well by producing Canadian oil as producing any other oil? I think it would be answered in the affirmative—every one of them. And, during the last short while, millions have been saved in Western Canada by price reductions in gasoline, by reason of this discovery in Turner Valley. There is no doubt about it, I think, there have been tremendous reductions. That has been of great assistance, and very badly needed, may I say, in Western Canada, as well.

I look back to the days when the railways were built across Canada, and let us view in retrospect what happened. We think of the courage and the energy of the men who built the ribbons of steel from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I wondered as I passed through the mountains and the prairies if they didn't think when they built those lines that some day they would haul the great resources from those mountains and from the hills—the minerals, the timber, the oil, the wheat and the cattle produced on those prairies.

While they only wondered, all can be answered in one word. The railways of this country, and I don't say this as a threat, don't take it in that way, in just one word if they don't get the tonnage they must face bankruptcy. There isn't anything else for it. Tonnage is the word. You can't make it by hauling people back and forward. You must haul tonnage on the railways. Now is the opportunity. If they don't haul the tonnage, pipe lines will haul it, and

if pipe lines once start to move it, the railways will never haul it. There isn't any question about it.

These pioneers in the oil industry have the same spirit of adventure as had those men who built these railways, overcoming all the obstacles. You remember in 1914, when the first well came in, and then there was a lapse of about ten years, to 1924—the first was the Gingman No. 1, and then there was the Royalite No. 14, which came in in 1924, when there was a tremendous flow of wet gas, and really the development began following that. Those men never quit, and they thought when they discovered crude oil in Canada—it must be remembered it was also in their minds in the early days of Canada, that great assistance was given by the Government to the petroleum industry in Ontario. Three and a half million dollars was paid out in bounties to the producers of oil in Ontario, and when we got oil above the limestone in Turner Valley, those bounties were cut off and we had to stand on our own feet, so to speak. Those men, when they developed oil, thought they would sell it to you. They thought it would be hauled by the railways to Eastern Canada. They never dreamed for a moment that they were going to be confined to 14,000 or 15,000 barrels on the Western prairies. That was the last thought in their minds.

Now, we say that these resources are a blessing, properly controlled and regulated. No doubt they are. I say to you, now that we have it, let us plan carefully today for tomorrow, when Canada will be one of the large producing countries in the world. We, as you know, have a gas field out there. Many of you men have come out there; other people have come in thousands from other parts of the world to see that gas field alight at night. We propose now, it has been talked over and I think in ninety days the solution will be found and the field closed in. We have 250 wells producing around 250 million feet in the air a day. There are 73 of those wells which produce 177 million

feet, and have a gross return of \$1,600, and a net return of about \$1,000 a day.

Now, it is our idea, and we believe workable, that we will compensate those men 100 per cent. of the net return on those wells. They will be compensated by the crude producers. We had several meetings while here and I think the Minister of Lands and Mines, Mr. Tanner, has gone home to draft the legislation in that connection.

The oil industry in Canada, as you know, is an exotic industry, largely if not entirely up to a short time ago, dependent on its resources from abroad. As I said before the rapid development has brought us face to face with a very complex problem that must be faced in a calm and constructive way.

I am going to ask you these questions and you see what you think about them. We say this development is vital to the national security, that it is essential to industrial development, that it is in the interests of the consumers and beneficial to them. It is a benefit to the railways in producing large revenues. It will increase employment and if we can get the water rates and the pipe line rates they have across the line, there is no reason why we cannot compete on an economical basis. We say it is a godsend to the Empire, and we believe that Canada can contribute in many ways to the safety and security that she has enjoyed for so many years. Now, then, you will say and I have heard them say, "O, but a nation receives exactly what it gives," and I think this is a sound statement. It does. It must balance, but in that exchange, and that is all it is, in that exchange there is nothing but human energy in the products that are exchanged and if we can benefit by producing a product with an equal amount of human energy in it, we gain by that exchange. We gain by producing it at home. On the other hand, let us see if all the advantages are not on our side.

Here, supposing, gradually, you see oil as the greatest single import into Canada; if, over a period of six or eight or ten years you gradually change that, bring oil into On-

tario and change that flow, perhaps in ten years having it flow the other way, surely that is going to be beneficial to Canada in every way in that matter of exchange.

Now, then, the depth of vision we use will determine very largely the future of this industry in the years to come. Gentlemen, public opinion, and you are public opinion, is a powerful influence in determining these policies and after all the policies are just the minds of men put down on paper as a means to a certain end and I am sure you will assist us whenever you can in helping to determine those policies that will be beneficial to Western Canada.

Let our selfish interests disappear. I want you to understand we are not here seeking any sectional advantage from the rest of Canada. We are not here as paid employees of any particular company or of the industry as a whole. I think I can say for all who attend, including myself, we have paid our own expenses and for some eight months we have given our time as citizens of Canada, having a stake in ur country, believing this is the right thing to do as citizens of Canada in the interests of Canadians. (Applause.)

Canada's contribution can be made in many ways to the Empire. We have our railways—the Canadian National is owned by the people of Canada—and in these two railways we have invested 3,700 million dollars, largely the money of the people of Canada, owned publicly and privately, and surely this is a tremendous investment that we, in hauling oil to Eastern Canada, can assist to pay its way. I point out to you if they haul 20 million barrels a year to the protected waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, it would be much more economical and much safer than to try to build one or two battle ships and operate and maintain them.

Now, my time is drawing to a close and I may pause here for a moment to say something to you, just apart from the oil development. I listened to a discussion the other night and it drew to my mind something even more important

because, after all, of all the industries of Canada the greatest industry in Canada is the human industry. That is the greatest industry in Canada, the development of the human industry and I listened to two gentlemen the other night in the rotunda of the Chateau, discussing whether Ontario and Quebec should go their way alone. It dawned on me that I should say a word and bring a message to you from Western Canada to Eastern Canada and to offer grateful thanks to you and to take back the memories of this visit and the hope that you will do everything for us that it is possible for you to do. I think I should express to you our wish, the message I should like to leave is this: We in Western Canada would like to build up interprovincial friendship, international friendship, as well, to have each province become more interdependent upon the other and build up a friendship that will remain unbroken for all time, and to help to restore that confidence that has been badly shaken, we must admit, but let us create a unity, a unity between the provinces of Canada and between Canada and the Empire and between the Empire and the nations of the world. That, it seems to me, is the wish of every thinking Canadian, and more important than the development of the oil industry or any other industry.

Now, I have pleasant memories. It is very nice to come back home after 34 years. I left this city just 34 years ago, to open up business for myself in Western Canada, and to come back and renew acquaintances and meet your brothers and sisters is a glorious feeling.

Now, there is just one word, and three minutes to go, so I shall go along. I realize from business conditions, not only in the oil business but other businesses in which we are interested, that many times a thousand miles divide the East and the West, and we have our differences on the problems that come before us, yet we have our similarities as well, and our interests are much greater than our differences. It is in the consideration of those differences and

similarities that we really appreciate our joint and several contributions to the problems of this nation.

I know you will agree with me that it would be ruinous for Canada for the provinces, after seventy years of a march of progress perhaps unequalled in the history of the world, now above all other times, to seek to plough the lone furrow, so to speak, and divide our interests, which can lead to no place but a wilderness of misery and despair. So I say to you, Gentlemen, who have the pulse of industry in your hands and who form public opinion and help to direct these affairs, I ask you to join hands and let us go along, each sharing each other's successes and failures and trying to build up the standard of life and living in Canada higher and higher and make this country, Canada and the Empire, greater than ever before. I thank you.

(Applause-prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Campbell, as I said in my introduction, we are indebted to you for coming to Toronto and addressing us today. Thanks to you, we have a greater knowledge of this new wealth being developed in our West, so essential to Canada and the Empire. On behalf of the Empire Club, I thank you.

(Applause.)

SPOTLIGHT ON EUROPE

AN ADDRESS BY REX FROST

Thursday, February 17th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Our Guests, Members of the Empire Club of Canada: Of the many great inventions of our time the greatest, as far as the majority of us are concerned, is probably the radio. The next in radio will likely be television and until that time we shall keep wondering what sort of people our announcers and commentators are. There are commentators and commentators. Some are simply propagandists. Others travel, meet the heads of governments and business men in various countries and thus gain first hand knowledge of the conditions and political situations in those countries. Our guest-speaker today is of the latter type. Last summer he spent some months in Europe, met public officials and Ministers of the Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, as well as other personalities in these countries, representative of national life. Since then Mr. Frost has visited Italy, where he also met Ministers of the regime and public officials and had an opportunity of securing the reaction of the man in the street. Other countries were then visited.

Mr. Frost was born in England, but has lived in Canada for 25 years, and therefore his interpretations are those of a Canadian. I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Rex Frost; his subject, "Spotlight on Europe." Mr. Frost.

MR. REX FROST: Mr. President, Guests and Members of The Empire Club: It is always my own impression when speaking at a public meeting that my visible audience is in many cases a great deal more interested in seeing what I look like than in hearing what I have to say. Having

occupied the ether waves with two discourses a day for in the neighbourhood of five years, I rather imagine that many of you will have become so accustomed to my commentaries that you have regarded the present largely as an opportunity to satisfy your curiosity as to my appearance and what sort of fellow I am personally. That, after all, is a perfectly natural instinct, we all form impressions as a result of hearing the various types of radio personalities, and usually the remark which greets me when I have the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of some of those who ordinarily sit out of sight on the other side of the microphone is, "Well, Rex, you're not one bit as I thought you would be. I expected that you'd be a short, thick set fellow, probably ten years older than you are, certainly you're not a bit as I pictured you would be."

My first duty this afternoon, Gentlemen, must therefore be to apologize for the disappointment. Sometimes quite naturally the surprise is mutual, as, for instance, the occasion a short while ago when I was addressing an agricultural audience and a farmer came up to me and said, "You know, Mr. Frost, my daughter listens to every one of your broadcasts, and she'll be very disappointed when she meets you later tonight to find that you are not about 20 years younger than you are." And, may I assure you, Gentlemen, that when later that evening I did meet the young lady I felt exactly the same way about it myself.

What is true in a personal way is so very often also true when one travels to other countries, and I must immediately record that the impressions which I have formed of the countries and the peoples of Europe through the printed word did not measure up to expectations when I had the opportunity of coming face to face with the reality. In the realization a visit to Europe seems to develop into a series of surprises, surprises which, in many cases, amount almost to disappointment. I know that my own impression, from what I had read during the past year in regard to conditions in the Mediterranean, for instance, had led me

to anticipate that there would be much of interest, perhaps even much of excitement in a boat trip through the Mediterranean between Gibraltar and the Italian Coast. I had conjured up visions of a Mediterranean closely patrolled by battlecraft of several nations; I had pictured that section of the Mediterranean which joins the Spanish coast as one in which I might expect to see evidences of the normal activities that might be associated with a war. From the time that the boat left Gibraltar until arrival at Naples, a distance of some 800 miles, there was not only a complete absence of any battleships, cruisers or war vessels of any description, but indeed a surprising absence of mercantile shipping as well. Not until the vessel on which I was travelling docked at Naples was there any indication of naval craft, and only then a small number of Italian submarines and destroyers moored alongside the dock without any apparent activity on board. There were also a couple of light German destroyers flying the Swastika flag moored in the harbour of Naples. They were there when I arrived and the same vessels were there when I returned to Naples a couple of weeks later, these vessels having presumably not left their moorings in the meanwhile.

As to the significance of the presence of German war vessels in an Italian harbour, for all one knows they may have been planted there purely to convey a literal significance of the solidarity of the Rome-Berlin axis. As you land at Naples, however, staring you in the face is a notice painted on the customs and immigration buildings in large letters, a phrase which freely translated from the Italian reads, "We are Mediterraneans and our destiny has always been, and always will be, on this sea." It was the first visible indication of the Mediterranean controversy which in recent years has partly formed a basis of misunderstanding between Italy and Great Britain. Physically, the western Mediterranean to all intents and purposes presents to the eye no more controversial a spectacle than would any span of delightfully peaceful, greenish-blue sunlit water. But

that dominant phrase, as it were defiantly expressed on the harbour buildings of Naples, is a forcible reminder to the traveller that prominent in the mind of the Italian authorities in placing it there, was not only the provisions of a stimulant to the prestige of Italian imperialism, but an assurance that Mussolini regards the Mediterranean as a sea upon which he and his country depend in providing strategic advantages from a military and naval standpoint.

British strategy in the Mediterranean in the past century has been, as we know, to assure for herself a freedom of passage for her merchant shipping with the Near and Far East. Maintaining as Britain always has done in the past a preponderance of naval power, there has never been any doubt until in recent years of the ability of Great Britain to defend her right of passage through the Mediterranean. The growing strength of Italy's naval and air power, plus the establishment of a highly fortified base on the African coast which menaces the narrow strip of water between the tip of Italy and Africa, appears to have rather changed the outlook. Then again, the rapidly increasing range of aircraft, the proven efficacy of submarines in creating distress to mercantile and other shipping, has revolutionized the political aspects of the Mediterranean. There is the prospect that in the case of a declaration of war between the western democratic powers and a Mediterranean nation, that the confining of several powerful naval and air forces of those nations within the narrow sea of the Mediterranean, each force with its bases interwoven, might start something that would be analogous to the shutting up of a bunch of wild cats in a small cage. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand the Mussolini strategy in this inland sea, inasmuch as it provides for him not only a material bargaining force in times of peace, but a physical threat of no mean proportions in the case of hostilities. It largely accounts too for Mussolini's actions in endeavouring to preserve for himself a favourable sphere of influence in Spain. As an Italian Minister put it to me, Italy could not countenance a Com-

munist Spain on her seas. And, speaking of Spain, it is surprising how the civil disturbance in that troubled country seems to have dropped out of general conversation in London and Paris during the past few months. Last June when I was in the French and British capitals diplomatic officials were just full of fear about the Spanish outlook—last month the only time when it entered into the conversation was when I raised the point myself. It may be presumed, I would say, that Spain has long since passed out of the European political picture as forming any potential source of major hostilities in Europe. True, it may constitute a continued point of irritation, a subject for small bickering and bargaining, but fundamentally I gained the impression in London that Spain has been relegated to the position of one of the minor of European issues.

This afternoon I would like to have the privilege of bringing you a few comparisons between the physical and the political conditions as they impressed themselves upon me in Germany and Italy. In the first place, until I visited these countries I had back of my own mind learned to understand that the respective Nazi and Fascist regimes were so closely associated that they might be regarded as practically similar, and thereby interchangeable. May I therefore record the impression that, while the two methods of administration in Germany and Italy have certain characteristics which might be reduced to a common denominator, they are entirely dissimilar in a great many respects. The main character of their similarity, it is perhaps hardly necessary to suggest, lies in the authoritarian nature of their constitution. On the other hand, the practical construction of their governmental set-up varies as widely as does the distinction between the temperament of the German and Italian peoples themselves.

May I first illustrate a rather interesting branch of the administration which is rather similar, that which controls the production and marketing of the national food supplies. They infer with a certain amount of pride in Rome that in

constructing his agricultural policy, Hitler, to all intents and purposes, duplicated the system which had been in force for some time in Italy. To tell you of the German system is, therefore, to remind you of the Italian. The whole approach to the question of profitable marketing of the products of agriculture in Germany is based on the national socialist belief that prices can be controlled by legislation. In Berlin they claim that the theory that demand and supply regulate prices is not really an economic maxim at all, but rather an out-of-date capitalist maxim. The German agricultural plan, therefore recognizes price fixing from the producer to the consumer as forming its essential basis. In September, 1933 the German Government enacted as the basic law for agriculture a government body known as the National Food Corporation, and it became necessary for all parties concerned in the production, distribution and sale of the nation's essential foodstuffs to become associated in their respective capacities with that Corporation. Today the German Government claims that by its arbitrary price fixing policy, the producer is protected inasmuch as he is assured of predetermined, so-called "fair" prices, and assured sales. The middle-man or distributor is permitted only a specified mark-up, according to the class of produce. The amount which the consumer may be charged is also regulated. That ruling applies to a group of essential foods. On the face of things, it all sounds very nice, the farmer more or less gets a definite guarantee of a market for his produce, plus the assurance of a certain price, and the public has the perhaps satisfying knowledge that the middle-man is not permitted to profiteer at either their own expense or that of the producer.

The German authorities endeavour to impress you with the fact that, by such a system, they were able to control the fluctuations in prices of agricultural products to a range of as little as 3 per cent during the past year, which if the statistical figures they give you are correct, compares more than favourably with the fluctuations in price of essential

foodstuffs in other countries. During the period of the past four years, however, international trade has been at a low ebb and, consequently, the influence of international markets for food commodities has been considerably less than most of us hope it will be in the years of international business expansion which we visualize in the near future. The German administration claims that it has successfully defied what it describes as the antiquated principles of economics, and believes that this price fixing system can be indefinitely sustained regardless of world wide conditions. And so we find the Nazi Administration locking horns with economic authorities the world over, who very definitely assert that in the final analysis there was never a price system yet evolved which would, in the long run, overcome the influences of supply and demand. Old Man Time will no doubt settle the point, but I recollect in that connection that the distinguished old gentlemen is usually characterized in word and picture as a rather grim reaper.

I will say this, for the time being, however, the agricultural areas of Germany through which I drove about 700 miles last summer, have from the appearance of the premises, an orderly, well-kept atmosphere which might suggest that living conditions are reasonably satisfactory. It perhaps needs no explanation that both the German and Italian agricultural policies have required dissociation, as far as possible, from world markets, and that the planning of the national economy in both countries has been a development scheme designed to bring larger areas under cultivation. The extent to which the reclaiming of marsh lands and other areas formerly unsuitable for cultivation has been carried out in Italy is rather impressive, and apart from making increased agricultural production possible has, at the same time, solved another problem by putting a large army of men to work. I spent a complete day driving around the reclaimed agricultural area some 50 miles from Rome which, until recent years, constituted the Pontine Marshes, and upon which thousands of small farm dwellings

now dot the landscape. I went into one of these new farm homes, a 5-roomed affair constructed mostly of concrete. It was occupied by a family which had been moved to the locality by the government from one of the northern districts of the country, where abnormally overcrowded conditions prevailed. The interior of the farm home was pretty bleak, stone walls bare of pictures, stone floors bare of rugs or carpets. The two downstairs rooms provided a living room and kitchen, while the three upstairs rooms consisted of a small granary and two bedrooms in each of which were the largest beds I've ever seen, but when one saw the size of the family one realized that even this sleeping accommodation was cramped, to say the least of it. This little Italian farm home housed not only eleven children, but the parents and grandparents as well, and even at that, with fifteen people sharing two beds, it seemed to them a haven of comfort as compared with the conditions under which they had lived in the northern sections of the country. In bed it must be a case of, when father says turn, we all turn—which is a central European philosophy anyway. These people from Northern Italy are placed in these homes on the site of the Pontine Marshes and instead of rental, they contribute 25 per cent of the annual value of their crops to the government. At the end of 25 years of such contribution the house and its adjoining land becomes their own property.

Since my return from Europe I have been plied with questions concerning the degree to which military preparedness is apparent in Europe. Frankly, it is a great deal more obvious in Germany than in Italy. It almost appears that one man in three in Germany is wearing either a military or political uniform, and there are large military camps to be seen all over the country. The winged emblem signifying the wearer's association with an aviation unit is perhaps one of the most prominent. Government cars, trucks and other rolling equipment are to be seen very extensively on the highways, and they are practically all painted in the

camouflage design so much associated with the Great War of 1914-18.

In Italy, however, the effect of the military programme is not nearly so obvious on the streets of the cities and towns, in fact, in Rome and in the larger centres, there is virtually no military display whatsoever, except for official ceremonials—soldiers and men in political uniforms by comparison with Germany are few and far between. Neither in Italy is there apparent as much flag waving as in Germany. One of the most conspicuous visible factors of the German life, as I saw it last summer, was the intensive display of Swastika flags with which the main streets of many of the larger Nazi centres were lined. Conspicuous also in Germany was the extent to which pictures of Hitler were hanging in almost every store, office, hotel or public building. Italy is seemingly more modest in public display of the pictures of her national leader, and in almost every case where such pictures are displayed, both those of the King of Italy and Il Duce are shown together. One notices also as a traveller, an entirely different general atmosphere. Germany at once impresses you as a highly disciplined country. While I can speak in the highest terms of the courtesy with which I was greeted by German officials and members of the government departments, there is, on the other hand, a sense of tenseness, a feeling that you are being watched in Germany, which you do not feel in Italy. Don't misunderstand me on that point, the background of friendliness towards the visitor is equally felt in both Germany and Italy, but in Italy one does not feel that the people as a whole or the government officials are as much on their guard. In Germany practically every government department is under armed guard, in Italy the only soldiers to be seen outside government offices are the two men who stand at the shoulder-arms at the entrance to Mussolini's private offices in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome. Nor can it be presumed that the Dictators have completely lost their sense of humour. When I was in Germany the Third Reich was

chuckling over an editorial which had been reprinted from an American periodical in which after making comparisons between the extraordinary similarity which existed in the physical appearance of Charlie Chaplin and Adolf Hitler, even to the little black moustache, the comment was made, "There's one great difference between the film comedian and the German Fuhrer, however. Charlie Chaplin *knows* he's funny." Even Hitler is supposed to have chortled at that one . . . and when dictators smile . . . well, they say there's hope after all for the future of Europe.

Speaking of the visible results which appear to have been attained in both Germany and Italy since their respective authoritarian regimes came into operation, he would I believe, be a narrow-minded observer who could not detect some social improvement in these countries, but nothing which I have seen in Europe in either of my last two visits would in any way cause me to suggest that the dictatorial systems of government of central Europe may be in any way regarded as superior to the democracy we enjoy under the Constitution of the British Empire.

While it is difficult for the visitor to dig deep below the surface of life in these two countries in the short space of a couple of months, there is evidence that the social system is in a great many ways not quite so black as many would have us believe. Italy appears to be a great deal more settled than Germany, which I suppose is only reasonable when one remembers that Mussolini has been plugging away at national reorganization practically four times as long as Hitler. My impression, however, is that such improvement in the social status of the Italian people which has been effected since the advent of the present system of government has been made possible only by reason of the adaptability of the temperament of the Latin people to a system which involves regimentation of the national life. To transform that system, however, and endeavour to impose it upon an Anglo-Saxon community accustomed by

heritage to extensive freedom of thought and action would be very doubtful indeed as to its aspects of success.

One might make a similar comment in regard to Germany where we envisage a nation which through its comprehensive military traditions has long been steeped in a sense of rigid discipline that makes possible a far greater measure of authoritarian discipline than would ever be possible under British traditions. It must be remembered too that whatever credit Hitler and Mussolini may seek to take unto themselves for having accomplished a measure of national reorganization, by comparison with the western democracies these countries are poor economically and financially, Italy obviously more so than Germany. All the creative effort of the Nazi and Fascist policies, while they may have lessened, has not overcome financial stringency. When you enter and leave Germany and Italy they appear to be a great deal more interested in what currency you have in your pocket than they are in the probably dutiable articles you have in your baggage. It is very evident that every regulation which can possibly prevent the export of wealth in any form out of the respective countries has been put into effect. That may be of course, the result of over spending in each case in the sphere of military preparedness. Much as in both Italy and Germany one hears the most scathing remarks about France and the French democratic system, one rather senses that these Dictators would give their eye teeth for the entree to some of the extensive gold reserves and the wealth which constitute the background of French democracy.

One cannot, however, visit Europe without being impressed by the obvious restlessness of France. "Things are bad," remarked a Frenchman to me in Paris, whose views have international weight—"yet," he continued, "if my judgment confronts me with the alternative solutions, my instinct tells me somehow or other that we shall extricate ourselves without serious dislocation." And, in such a phrase, Gentlemen, I believe you have the keynote of the

French temperament—compromise. Come to think of it, there seems to be no nation on the face of the globe which can stage one political climax after another as can France. The post-war, yes and the 20th century pre-war period of the republic seems to be just a continuous series of crises. It may be the temperament of the public, it may be the corruptness of public life, it may be the manipulation of an autocratic capitalism, but certainly France for some reason or other gives the impression of being perched continuously on the brink of a political, financial and economic abyss into which for some mysterious reason she never falls. The old parliamentary constitution of France has withstood shock after shock for the last 15 years. Over and over again it has been prophesied that the next French Cabinet crisis would mark the limit of resistance of the Republic to the force of the new political creeds of Europe, yet even as it develops, each crisis resolves into a solution, even if temporary, on the old orthodox lines. Neither the extreme leftist groups nor those of the extreme right seem in a position to oust that parliamentary democracy of France. On the Left, the French Communists have sought to use the Front Populaire as a means of securing leadership and control of the entire working class movement in the Republic. So far they have not succeeded. One remembers that famous day of July 7th, 1936, when France had on her hands during that one day no less than 1171 factories occupied by sit-down strikers, and there has been an unbroken record of business dislocation in evidence ever since. A few months ago a movement of the Right, a Fascist type group, looked as though it might make an imposing impression, but it too has similarly proved incapable of grabbing the destinies of the Republic, and the French, past masters in the art of compromise, have steered a middle course which at times perilously near the edge of the political ditch, has nevertheless been able to stay on the highway of democracy. On the other hand, there is every evidence even to the visitor to France who reviews the country superficially that

the class war, the clash between the capitalist and labour elements has reduced the country's business to a complete shambles. The past three years have seen in France one staggering orgy of industrial disorganization. It is an impossibility for anyone to gauge the probabilities of the situation in France without having been there and seeking to gain some understanding of the national temperament. The Frenchman is, you know, essentially an individualist, a man who has been brought up for centuries in the belief of personal liberty, the thought of the authoritarian regime, such as has been suggested as the inevitable destiny of the Republic, to me would seem a contradiction of the national character. France, at the moment and for the past several years, has passed through a political torment. There has been staged in the Republic as extended and vicious a battle as the world has ever seen against a strongly entrenched capitalism. For 136 years the Bank of France, dubbed the Second Bastille, has repelled every assault. It survived two Republics, two Empire and two royal dynasties. The Bank of France survived Waterloo, the revolution of 1848, the Franco-Prussian war and the World War. But this French Bastille of High Finance, the autocratic Bank of France, fell on the night of July 16th, 1936, not to a blaze of musketry, not to the shrieks of human slaughter, but to the decision of a debate in a constitutionally elected democratic chamber—it was part of France's New Deal in the modern interpretation of democracy. The class struggle in France of the past few years has been more intensive than we of the American world can fully comprehend. There have been so many forecasts that the Republic will, in the almost immediate future, swing viciously to the Right or to the Left, that I feel impelled to repeat the simple remark made to me in Paris a couple of weeks ago . . . "We shall extricate ourselves without serious dislocation." The French capacity for compromise speaks for itself.

A word on the European situation as interpreted to me in London. There is quite obviously somewhat of a switch-

over of viewpoint in Great Britain towards the outlook for the immediate future of general European political events. Last summer I remarked upon the extreme public apathy which seemed to exist, particularly in London, which took a disinterested negative attitude towards the probability of a general outbreak of hostilities on the Continent. On the contrary, official and diplomatic circles at that time did not seem to share quite the hopeful aspect of the general public. Last spring and summer serious incidents were happening in the Mediterranean. There was the attack on the German gunboat, *Deutschland*, and other vessels of the international patrol which were obviously keeping British Foreign Office officials and officials of the other branches of the diplomatic services in a bit of a whirl.

At the moment, the viewpoint in London seems to have become reversed. Today the British public seems to be doing a great deal more worrying than the officials. I put a question on the subject to a permanent staff member of one of the government departments in London and he agreed that there was a great deal of truth in such a belief. Asked if he could suggest some explanation, he put it to me this way. British rearmament has made such progress during the past few months, he explained, that the public is daily becoming more conscious of what is going on around them. The British press campaign urging preparedness against war had roused the imagination of the man in the street to the point that he had been brought face to face with what might happen. News items mentioning that millions of gas masks had already been manufactured and stored in warehouses in the larger centres has had an impressive effect in reminding the British public of the possible menace ahead. Motorists driving into public garages for service have been finding it increasingly difficult to obtain competent mechanical service, and when they asked why, were told that there was a shortage of good machine shop men—the lads were working in ammunition plants and armament works, and so on. Many garages had rented some of their space to the gov-

ernment as machine shops for shell and aeroplane part manufacture. The public noticed such things. These and a chain of other circumstances with which the public were coming more and more into contact daily, has had some considerable influence in creating a fear-of-war consciousness.

From official circles in London, I received the assurance, however, that the fundamentals of European relations today are very much improved over those of six months ago. I was very definitely given the impression that a more approachable basis of understanding exists between the British and Italian governments than has been seen for some time. Insofar as relations with Germany were concerned, there was every reason to believe that Hitler was anxious to encourage better understanding with the Chamberlain government. A couple of weeks ago in London a diplomatic official expressed the opinion to me that, while 1938 would undoubtedly find an intensive revival of the German claim for the return of her former overseas possessions, that this, on the contrary, was believed to be more or less a camouflage of the more important Hitler objective of extending his sphere of influence in Central Europe. That viewpoint appears rather to have been justified by events of the past few days in which announcements have been made of the intimidation of the Austrian Cabinet by the German Fuhrer. This was not apparently an unexpected development but rather the culmination of an aggressive effort over a period of several years to bring Vienna within the orbit of the Rome-Berlin axis.

Having spent some time in Vienna last year, and having travelled most of the length and breadth of Austria, I am under no illusion as to the circumstances which encouraged a measure of acceptance of the German approach. Austria as a country is perhaps one of the most pitiful spectres of Europe. Nowhere on the Continent have I seen such visible evidences of poverty, nowhere in Europe did I listen to such voluminous accounts of the distracting position of

Austrian business and the seeming futility of the national outlook. You can hardly walk 50 yards on the streets of Vienna without being accosted by beggars, male and female. The gaiety and brilliance which once constituted Vienna as the most spectacular of European capitals has given way to a sombre depression of mind and spirit. Vieneses spoke to me quite frankly in suggesting that there seemed to be but one hope for their country, some form of consolidation with Germany or Italy. And in that connection, it must still be remembered that Mussolini has a considerable finger in the Austrian pie.

As I sat on the terrace garden of an hotel which nestled on one of the hills at the back of Vienna, from which is obtained a commanding view of the River Danube, lazily wending its way into the distance, the thought came to me that the well-known appellation, the Blue Danube was more an interpretation of the mood of the people than descriptive of the muddy-coloured water in the river. It is with a knowledge of the background of Austrian conditions that the British Government has long foreseen some development along the lines announced a couple of days ago, and there is every reason to believe that the British diplomatic service was well prepared for such an announcement, and has the situation well in hand.

One point which impressed me was that, fundamentally, no matter where you travel in Europe, whether it be Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, or Italy, irrespective of conversation in political channels, business men appear to be discussing problems which, in the main, are similar the continent wide. Basically, they have similar problems confronting them as have we on the American side of the Atlantic. Questions of unemployment, the balancing of budgets, costs of living, the application of various forms of social security insurance, the building up of the humanitarian side of the masses of the population. These are basically major questions of discussion in business circles, no matter where you go. And be it in Rome, Berlin, Paris, London, Prague or Vienna you hear men dis-

cussing such prosaic matters as advertising and merchandising plans, the stock market, business overheads, and week-end round of golf, their operations, and a dozen and one similar topics which one overhears in our own country. In countries where one might expect them to talk about nothing but armaments and war, war scares, political coups and the like, it is rather refreshing to find that there are still business men, human fellows at that, who may still have simple problems like our own, and who are still sufficiently human sometimes to take a good-looking secretary out to the supper dance.

Individually, no matter in what European country you travel, men and women talk in the sincerest spirit of hopeful co-operation, and I say hopeful co-operation, because as individuals I believe that the peoples of Europe are praying for the solution of their misunderstandings in terms of peaceful accomplishment. The man in the street has just as much a horror of prospective war as have we Britishers. There is, however, one lacking principle, the principle which accepts the power of collective human intelligence, a principle guided largely of mind, will power and common sense. We agree privately on the necessity for world peace, we concur on the basic principles which must essentially direct the activities of mankind towards higher social standards of living and a loftier moral outlook. We agree, I say, as individuals, but by a strange psychology, individuals formed into nations for some almost unintelligible cause become strangely unreasonable. In a national sense, collective political pride seems sometimes to supplant the dictates of our personal and individual commonsense and intelligence, and almost unknowingly we subscribe as nations to a condition amounting to mental anarchy, which we would hardly countenance as private citizens. The need of Europe, of America and of the rest of the world seems to be a more practical interpretation in world affairs to those same motives and principles for which we personally stand, but which as so-called intelligent nations we have so far apparently failed to put into practise.

In the sum and substance of European affairs, may I report two major impressions. *First*, that physically and mentally, Great Britain is the one nation of Europe which under the most extenuating of circumstances has remained fundamentally sane and sober. Majority British opinion still can be adapted to 20th century architecture without tearing down the original edifice. *Secondly*, that I concur with that large body of students of international affairs which is firmly convinced that the one most influential factor guaranteeing the peace of Europe is the power of British rearmament. There is reassurance too with the knowledge that in any conflict of diplomacy or arms, Britain, while losing many, always has won one battle—the last.

Cheerio, Gentlemen, and happy days. (Applause.)

PRESIDENTS Mr. Frost, we are indeed indebted to you for giving us this interpretation of current events. The situation, we hope, is not without a solution which will bring the world back to normal. We wish you continued success with the Arm Chair Club, and I assure you we will listen with added interest, having met you. On behalf of The Empire Club, I thank you. (Applause.)

CANADA'S CHALLENGE TO ITS YOUTH

AN ADDRESS BY NICHOLAS IGNATIEFF

Thursday, February 24th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: On the 12th of March, 1931, the Empire Club of Canada was honoured by the presence of Count Paul Ignatieff, who, as the guest-speaker spoke on Russia. He was the Minister of Education for Russia, from 1915 to 1917 and, I believe, the last Minister of Education of the old regime. Today, the son of that distinguished educationist is our guest-speaker and he has chosen for his subject, "Canada's Challenge to Youth." It is, I think, remarkable that after only thirteen year of residence in this country he should be so well qualified to address us on this subject. We have had addresses on current events embracing many countries and also on Canada's natural resources, but what is of greater interest or of greater moment than Canada's youth and the instilling of the ideals and the principles for which this Club stands in their hearts and imaginations. He believes, and I agree with him, that Canadians do not know their country and I can say, without contradiction, that with possibly few exceptions Mr. Ignatieff has seen and knows more of Canada than most of us. To show Canada to its youth he founded the School Exploration Society, of which he will tell us in his address, which will be followed by coloured motion pictures of some of the country on his trips.

I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Nicholas Ignatieff, his subject, as I have already announced, "Canada's Challenge to Its Youth." Mr. Ignatieff.

(Applause.)

MR. NICHOLAS IGNATIEFF: Mr. President, Gentlemen:

I appreciate the double honour you have done me! First, in asking me to address you and secondly in specifying a Canadian topic. As to the subject matter of this address I thought that was known only to me until I saw above the announcement of this address in the paper this morning, the following headlines: "Medicine and Poison May Look Alive." At the end of my remarks you may realize how appropriate this caption was.

During the past few years I have been exposed so much to lectures on the land of my birth given on the authority of a week's, a month's, or even a year's sojourn in that immense country that I can sympathize with you when you are subjected to the same sort of treatment.

Even after 13 years of apprenticeship in this country I would hesitate to speak sweepingly and frankly of your vast problems unless I had become a full-fledged citizen of this land, determined to share with you the responsibilities and the difficulties as well as the privileges implied in that citizenship.

Today I will attempt to outline briefly what seems to me the two major problems which confront both the youth and the educationalist in Canada.

The first problem I must pose as a question because I think Canadians themselves are in no agreement about it.

Are the young people of Canada growing up to inherit a land of untold natural riches and immense opportunities which will provide them with a high standard of living for the asking or are they to inherit a hard, lean earth with a tough climate, an earth whose riches are almost exhausted and which can yield a livelihood grudgingly as a reward for hard work?

I realize that the conception of Canada being a land of untold resources and opportunities was not always prevalent. Even after the building of the C.P.R. the West was often referred to as an arid or frozen waste which would never support a large or wealthy population.

The development that has taken place since has belied these pessimistic forecasts, but there is a growing volume

of studied opinion which believes that this rapid development and the zeal of the promoter has given rise to an optimism with regard to Canada's future which has no basis in physical fact and the superstructure of services which has been erected on the basis of these over-optimistic estimates holds nothing but economic disaster for the Dominion.

For example, we have learned recently from the depositions made before the Rowell Commission that the 55 million acres now under cultivation in the Prairie Provinces represent at least 80 per cent of the land at all suitable for agriculture in these three provinces. The Department of Agriculture agreed with this opinion. The Minister of Agriculture for Saskatchewan asserted there was difficulty in finding agricultural land in that province to place those who wish to leave the drought areas.

That is a very different picture from the one still drawn in Canada's official statistics which claim there are 200 million acres of land suitable for agriculture in the three Western Provinces. It is also a different picture from the one envisioned by those who believe Canada could support a population of at least 40 or 50, if not 200 million people.

Even with regard to the new-found mineral wealth, opinion is divided. There are those who believe the mineral wealth has been barely scratched and those others who are now asserting that the mineral outlook of Canada has been exaggerated beyond all shadow of truth for promotion purposes.

This question of establishing an approximately true picture of Canada's resources is very important to Canada's youth, for an education founded in extravagance, based upon the assumption of untold resources easily converted to great wealth is ill-designed to prepare Canadian youth for the struggle that is ahead of them if these estimates of wealth should prove greatly exaggerated.

In other words, are we preparing them to live in a fool's paradise?

Personally, my impression is that the boom psychology

of the promoter has cast a false light on the whole Canadian scene and in a measure is responsible for the difficulties Canada has to face now.

But neither do I agree with the outlook of the pessimists.

I believe Canada's future depends entirely on those qualities of character which Canadians will choose to cultivate and develop.

Time and again I have marvelled at the examples I have seen in Canada of the qualities of imagination, initiative, courage and hard work conquering the hardest environment and achieving spectacular triumphs where the expert and the arm-chair economist would have prophesied nothing but failure.

I have seen men create flowering gardens in the drought areas of Saskatchewan or establish prosperous homes up to 150 miles from railway transportation in the Peace River country. I have witnessed men who prove that farming in Northern Ontario can be carried on profitably even though the majority of their neighbours were on relief and the average person thinks that colonization up there is doomed to failure.

In the mining field you know yourselves how unlettered prospectors with courage and determination have confounded experts time and again.

And more spectacular than anything I know to prove what courage and intelligent co-operation can do is the story which comes now from the Peace River where the settlers, despairing of outside aid, are literally cutting their own road to the Pacific.

I believe Canada's physical environment presents a stiff challenge but a fascinatingly interesting one. Granted the right qualities of character, imagination, determination, courage, the application of the true spirit of co-operation and with the help of modern science, Canada is capable of building up a remarkable civilization and driving back her northern frontiers beyond our fondest dreams today. That to me is the great romance of Canada.

But before this can happen education must awaken to

this challenge and youth must be inspired to meet it. Unless they will be prepared to roll up their sleeves and go to work the West may become again an abandoned waste, the Northland a series of desolate shaft-heads until a hardier race appears.

The second problem which Canadian youth faces today is the challenge of ideas and systems which are directly opposed to the ideals and principles embodied in British democratic institutions.

If Dictatorships continue to score material successes, as they are apparently doing, by use of blackmail, intimidation, ruthless force, deceptive propaganda, and more important, by compelling the service of all citizens and all wealth to the use of the nation, may not the allegiance of youth even in this country be seriously affected. I believe the youth today is extremely practical—yes, even perhaps cynical—at least inclined to be very impatient with time-worn slogans if they suspect them to be merely words. They will be inclined to judge principles by practical results and the apparent orderliness, drive and power of Fascism may easily win them.

I neglect Communism only because I believe it is waning at the moment. In Russia it has been failing during the past year. I think the menace today is more that of Fascism than Communism, until the next few major wars may again raise its head.

I believe there is only one way to meet this serious challenge. To prove to them by our example the superiority of those principles we claim to represent and inspire them in a continued devotion to these ideals.

I do not believe it is possible to educate youth in a strong allegiance to democracy or British institutions by merely preaching, waving the flag or heaping ridicule on rival systems but only by proving that in times of difficulty and stress such as we are experiencing today we are capable of voluntary and efficient co-operation for the welfare of the nation; that we can sacrifice individual, municipal and provincial narrow interests and greed for the common weal,

with even better effect than is possible through forced service under the heel of dictatorships. Only by such example can we insure that the youth of today and the citizens of tomorrow shall remain loyal to those principles which we claim to be ours.

Now, let me outline to you briefly an experiment which was started at Upper Canada College and which has now broadened to include other schools, an experiment in education for citizenship having regard to those particular factors which affect Canadian youth.

Three years ago we made a beginning by taking groups of boys to the North country of Ontario and Quebec to show them the amazing development which is taking place there, to stimulate their imagination and interest in the northern frontiers.

Next this experiment was broadened in two directions to include a wider horizon.

Mr. Biggar of the staff of Upper Canada College arranged a carefully prepared system of summer visits by our boys to Quebec where they stayed in French-Canadian homes to achieve greater understanding of that important part of Canada.

On the other hand we undertook two summer expeditions to the Northwest. On the first one I took a group of boys with local guides and horses from the Peace River District into the Rocky Mountains which we crossed eleven times and travelled 300 miles in perfectly unsettled country to Mount Robson.

Last year we co-operated with a number of Eastern schools and four Masters and a Doctor took thirty-two boys to the Peace River country where with 86 horses we crossed the Rockies into the Fraser Valley and then in boats, specially built for us at Summit Lake, north of Prince George, we descended along the route made famous by Sir Alexander MacKenzie and Simon Fraser down the Peace River through the Rockies back into the Peace River Country.

I believe this sort of thing has a three-fold educational value. First, it opens up the eyes of young Canadians to

the romance, the grandeur, the immensity of Canada and its vast problems as nothing else can. It may teach them to think in terms of national development and inspire them with the idea of national service. Secondly, it challenges them to meet hardships unflinchingly when hardships are but an adventure and thus may help to revive the spirit and courage of the old pioneers. Thirdly, a hard long journey of this kind teaches the value of voluntary co-operation and comradeship—the very foundations of all democracy—in a way this cannot be taught in the classroom, playing field or by preaching.

In order to extend the education value of this work, this winter we have formed a Schools Exploration Society of Canada with the enthusiastic interest and support of His Excellency the Governor-General, Lord Tweedsmuir. On our board we have leading Canadians representing every section of Canada. We have done this in order that we might build up an Associate membership from among those who think this work worth while so that with funds thus made available we could carry those boys, carefully selected, who might most benefit by this sort of education even though they might not be able to afford the cost of our expeditions. So far the expeditions have been financed entirely by the parents of those boys who have taken part.

As we find and train responsible leaders, if we exercise great care for the safety of the boys, and limit the size of our parties, we can extend this work until it becomes of real national educational value.

It may be possible to establish contacts with a similar society that has flourished in England for some years and foster mutual co-operation and interest between British and Canadian boys.

We plan to use the work of the Society to foster an interest in the country's past and make the study of Canadian history more inspiring. Thus, to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Sir Alexander MacKenzie's epoch journey from the Peace to the Pacific we hope to carry through an

expedition following exactly in his tracks taking an historic film in colour for educational purposes, enacting the various incidents along the route—the boys themselves preparing the scenaria—unless Hollywood beats us to it.

These are the plans. How far we will succeed depends largely on the interest and helpful co-operation that you—the parents and the public—extend to this whole idea.

I believe the development of this work can go a long way to stimulate the imagination of Canadian youth to the realization of a greater Canada and make it unnecessary for so many boys to wonder what they can do with themselves in a country such as this.

(Hearty applause.)

. . . Mr. Ignatieff's address was followed by moving pictures of the trip into the Peace River country, described in his address. . . .

PRESIDENT: Mr. Ignatieff, there is only one regret we have, that is that time did not permit you to speak longer and show more of your beautiful pictures. I think the fathers have really had something put over them and you will probably have a lot of applications from fathers next year. We are grateful to you for the work you are doing on behalf of the youth of Canada, and we thank you on behalf of this Club for your most interesting address.

(Applause.)

CHANGING INDIA

AN ADDRESS BY SIR ROBERT ERSKINE HOLLAND,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.

Thursday, March 3rd, 1938.

PRESIDENT: Your Honour, Our Guests, Members of The Empire Club of Canada: We are honoured today by the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and we welcome him most heartily on this, his first visit of many, we hope, to this Club. (Applause.) It is fitting that His Majesty should be represented here today when one, in the person of Sir Robert Erskine Holland, is our guest-speaker, as his life has been one of service to the Crown.

Travellers who visit India are amazed at the many beauties and strange customs of that vast Empire, and those travellers who are student of government, while thus amazed, also wonder at and are full of admiration for the personal efficiency of the Indian Civil Service. For many years the best brains of Britain have been directed to this all-important link of our Empire, to assist in directing its course to self-government. The obstacles have been many, the sacrifices great, but success, we hope, is assured.

Our guest-speaker, a brilliant scholar, graduated from Winchester College and Oriel College, Oxford, and entered the Indian Civil Service. He has filled so many high positions in that service with distinction that enumeration of them would form an address in itself. His knowledge of Indian affairs is not surpassed, his honours are many and he has indeed helped to bring about that changing India, that better India.

I have the great honour to introduce to you Sir Robert Erskine Holland, the subject of his address—"Changing India." Sir Robert. (Applause.)

SIR ROBERT ERSKINE HOLLAND: Your Honour, Members of The Empire Club of Canada: Before I describe to you the political drama which is being enacted on the stage of India, I should like to be allowed to sketch graphically something of India's historic background.

India, as you know, is not a nation and the reason for that is that through thousands of years in the past invaders have constantly streamed down through the passes, over the mighty mountains of the Himalayas and have looted, raided and carried off their booty, back through the passes until finally, attracted by the wealth of the cities of the plains of the Indus and the Ganges, they settled down and drove the original inhabitants into the mountains and jungles. That happened many times and as a result India is covered with a medley of racial deposits, so that there is no single language spoken throughout India. There are in fact twelve main groups of language and no less than 220 dialects are found in the sub-Continent.

That is the first point I wish to make, that there is no nation at present in India and the difficulty is to weld all those different races into one nationhood before self-government can be given to India. Only through force has India been an Empire in the past. On three occasions—twice there were Hindu Empires, 300 years before Christ, and 300 years after Christ—then came the Mogul Empire which was founded by Baber, and continued by the Emperor Akbar, and it was when that empire was falling to ruins that the British power appeared on the coast of India.

Great Britain, that is to say the East India Company did not go to India for the purpose of conquest, as Japan has now gone into China, but simply for the object of trade and for the first hundred years or so that company was occupied in contending against other rival European powers; first, the Portuguese, then the Dutch, then the French, and it was in the course of that fighting against these powers that the company was led on to territorial conquest of India. But that conquest was made against the will of the East

India Company at home. It was not made with British troops but with Indian troops who cordially continued and assisted the company to deliver the countryside from the chaos which had followed upon the disruption of the Mogul Empire. Gradually the East India Company gained a mandate for administration of a large extent of Indian territory and extended its borders, always endeavoring to keep a ring fence beyond which adventure should not go, until at last in 1784, the British Government decided that the time had come for the Crown to take over the responsibility of the Company as regards the government of Indian races and it was then, by an Act, which was passed in 1784, that the policy was laid down for the government of India which has been strictly adhered to ever since, namely, that the British work in India should be for the welfare and advancement of the people of India and not for purely selfish ends.

That was the prototype of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and it was the first instance on record of a trusteeship by one country for the welfare of another.

But Great Britain had never conquered the whole of India, as you know. One-half of the area of India is still today under the Indian rulers who are in alliance with the British Crown. Those little kingdoms were fragments which broke off from the Mogul Empire when that Empire began to decay. In some cases they were original little kingdoms which had come under Mogul sway and which joyfully seized the opportunity to renew their individual life. But those rulers have ever since been bound to the British Crown in ties of subordinate alliance and they are today another difficulty in the way of establishing self-government for India, as I shall explain directly.

The British Government by a succession of Acts pursued their policy of trusteeship for the peoples of India. In 1883 by the Charter Act they again laid down their policy and they opened the gates of service in India under the

Crown to every native of India, without bar of race, religion, social distinction, or anything else and a few years later they took a still more momentous step in making English the language for entry into the public service in India. After the battle of the languages was fought in Calcutta, and with the aid of Macaulay, it was decided that English should become the official language. The importance of that I shall explain a little later.

I won't worry you with the successive pronouncements made by the British Government which indicates their gradual approach to the grant of self-government to India. I will only mention that in 1909, the Legislative Councils in India were made largely elective. That was at the time of what was called the Morley-Minto Reforms, and then during the war, in 1917, a declaration was made in the British Parliament, explaining that the object of the British Government was to bring about the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India, as a part of the British Empire.

Two years later that policy was partly brought to fruition in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms when dyarchy, that is to say a dual system of government, was introduced into the provinces, whereby the Governors ruled their provinces with the aid of Cabinets, chosen from Indian Legislatures, but at the same time certain subjects were reserved and among them law and order, so that there might not be too abrupt a transition from unitarian government to responsible government in the provinces. Those reforms were not heartily welcomed by Indians because they felt that they did not adequately fulfil their ideal of self-government by democratic means.

But, during the whole of the war India remained extremely loyal to the British Government. As you know, Indian troops fought on many battle fields and there was hardly a murmur of discontent throughout India. The

Indian Princes rallied to the assistance of the British Empire as one man and helped with their troops and with generous gifts of money and in many other ways. But about 1919 the atmosphere began to change. As it were, sparks of fire broke out all over India at all the danger points, which were well known to the British administrators. In every district, almost, trouble began. Very often those troubles were not directed in any way against British rule. Hindus turned against Mohammedans. On the railways and in big industrial concerns employees turned against their authorities and the forces of order seemed at one time almost to be breaking down. Then, Mahatma Gandhi, who had been in the head of the Congress Movement for some time came to the front and described the British rule as a satanic government and deliberately led the people behind him in attempts to break down the British administrative system, by means of boycott of British goods, by manufacture illegally of salt, by tampering with the loyalty of the army and in many other ways. There were terrible rebellions, as you will remember, in the Punjab, and in Malabar, when many thousands of people were unfortunately killed and in the Punjab, as you will remember, the rebellion was largely put down as a result of General Guyer's attack upon the crowd at Amritsar. Diverse opinions are held as to the merits of what he did when he suppressed the trouble which he found in front of him at Amritsar. The general result of that firing was that the rebellion in the Punjab collapsed but throughout India there was a wave of feeling that he had exceeded the needs of the moment and that the firing which had been conducted under his orders had been cruel and unnecessarily punitive. I was then in charge of a province in India and I know what the effect produced in my own province was, that the mind and heart of the people were turned away from the British Government and it seemed as though our system of rule was about to collapse.

But still the government went on. Eventually Mr.

Gandhi was arrested and things began to quiet down after the Simon Commission came out, which wasn't at all welcome by the Indian people. When it came that another instalment of self-government was to be given to India the wave of ill-feeling which had spread over India began to subside.

As you know the next instalment of reform was given in 1935 by the Act of 1935, when the autonomy in the provinces which had been begun in 1919 was extended by the abolition of the system of dyarchy so that every subject of administration was dealt with by the Governor with the aid of his Cabinet. But still the plan was not wholly acceptable to the Indians because it was found necessary to give to the Governor certain reserve powers which were called safeguards, so that in time of great emergency he might set aside the help of his Cabinet and take the reins of power once more in his own hands. Indians, and especially the Congress, objected to that and they objected also to the fact that the franchise was not a one man, one vote system, but was given on a proportional representation system, so that a fixed number of votes was given to Mohammedans to insure that their interests should not be swamped in the administration.

Various other features of the provincial autonomy were objectionable to Congress but it was absolutely necessary that such safeguards should be imposed. First, because when the Mogul Empire came to an end there was left, not merely chaos, and a disrupted situation in the country, but a mass of Mohammedans living side by side with the Hindus, but thoroughly out of tune with them and disliking their manners and customs. Eighty millions of Mohammedans now live cheek by jowl with the Hindus and work with them but never intermarry, never eat with them, and rarely share their pursuits. At any moment there is a danger of outbreaks of ill-feeling and especially so since this system of reforms began to be introduced, because before the British arrived in the country Mohammedans held all the

offices under the Mogul Empire of dignity and importance and their language, of course, was the language of the court and administration. When, in 1835 or '36, English was made the official language, the Mohammedans at one blow lost the position which they had had under their own government and which they had retained for seventy years under British rule. They feared that they were going to be enslaved by the Hindus whose numbers of course, are vastly superior, and the bitterness of feeling was such that it even contributed very largely to the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. But, after the Mutiny the Mohammedans settled down and opened their own colleges and schools. They set themselves to learning English and very soon caught up with the Hindus, although, owing to their small numbers of course they could never achieve such a large share in appointments as the Hindus held. When it became apparent that the British were going to hand over rule in India some day to the Indians themselves the Mohammedans were bitterly apprehensive lest they should become the under-dogs and Hindus, similarly, were apprehensive that the superior fighting power of the Mohammedans might succeed in subduing them, in spite of their superior numbers.

That is why these two races are always likely to fly upon one another's throats whenever the situation in any particular spot becomes inflamed. The passions which drive Hindus and Mohammedans against one another are really comparable to those passions which drove European nations into the Great War and it is absolutely essential that before nationhood for India can develop they must find some common uniting bond. At present I am sorry to say there is small indication of any unity developing but undoubtedly national sentiment is slowly growing in India and one can only hope it will in time weld them together.

But the opposition of Indians was not only directed against the provincial autonomy part of the new Constitution. Of course, provincial autonomy in India is only a fraction of what Great Britain hopes to bring about. It is

absolutely essential that there should be a move toward responsibility at the center before India can become a nation. The intention is that a federation shall be brought into effect but the trouble to begin with is how to federate eleven autonomous provinces together with the Indian states, which, as I mentioned, constitute the other half of India. The provinces are as democratic as they can be made at present and the states are as monarchical now as they have ever been. Great Britain is bound by solemn treaties and by engagements to support the dynasties of these Princes and to perpetuate their system of rule so long as they govern their people reasonably well. If a Prince fails to achieve the standard which the Government of India considers right, he is ruthlessly deposed with the applause of his brother Princes, but although the Princes are wide-minded and tolerant and although their system of rule is not by any means wholly autocratic, they have in their own states a system of responsibility which though not democratic brings them into close touch with the sentiment and wishes of the people and in cases they have actually started legislative assemblies and advisory councils on the model of the assemblies in the provinces. Nevertheless, they do not want to abandon that old system which represents so much of the past to them and which is dear both to them and to their people.

The problem now is to unite together these two entirely dissimilar qualities in a bond which will enable India to hold up its head among the nations. The federal plan is that the Governor-General shall govern India with the aid of a Cabinet chosen from the Legislature, but that he shall have three subjects reserved to himself, in dealing with which he shall be responsible only to the British Parliament. That, of course, again is dyarchy of the same kind as was originally in force in the provinces and which proved unsuccessful. There are those who prophesy that it will prove unsuccessful speedily at the center if federation comes into force. Indians, naturally, object to the

reservation of these three subjects which are concerned with defense, foreign affairs and ecclesiastical affairs. Ecclesiastical affairs, of course, refer to the Church of England and other European churches. But it is absolutely inevitable at present that defense which involves the maintenance of the northwestern frontier which is almost an international boundary, shall be looked after by British troops and that the British Parliament shall be responsible for it. So long as that is so it is quite impossible for the subject of defense to be handed over to the Indian Parliament.

For the same reason foreign affairs must be dealt with by the Viceroy, subject to the authority of the British Parliament.

As regards the states, the Governor-General exercises two functions. He is in relation with the states as the representative of the Crown and the Provincial Legislatures and the Federal Legislature have very little to do with those relations. But the states are to be brought into the Federal Legislature by nominating their own representatives, both in the Upper and the Lower House. They are to have one-third of the representatives of the Upper House and two-fifths in the Lower House, and as they are not democratic bodies in the states, these representatives are to be nominated by the rulers.

That is the second reason why Congress objects so strongly to the Federal plan, and they have said that they have no intention of allowing this federation system to come into force. There are other grounds on which they object to the proposed federation but I will not trouble you with those at present.

The Congress and its adherents at first proclaimed that they would have nothing to do with the elections from the provinces when provincial autonomy came into force, but they actually ran candidates, as you remember, and they were successful in a great number of cases, and they swept the board, practically, in six provinces out of the

eleven. Last year, you will remember, they said that Congress Ministers would only take office provided the Governors would give assurance that they would not use their special powers to interfere with Ministers, so long as they were governing constitutionally. Such a pledge could not be given under the Act and a deadlock ensued, until Lord Linlithgow, by a tactful communiqué managed to induce the Congress to allow their members to take office in the provinces. And they did take office, in spite of the statement of the President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that he would only allow a Minister to take office on the understanding that the Constitution would be wrecked from the inside by their doing so. They took office and their government has been during the past few months, extraordinarily successful. There has been practically no friction with the Governors of the provinces or the British authorities. The safeguards which they objected to so much have not been utilized at all and the Congress Ministers have developed an extraordinary parliamentary faculty and have shown great administrative ability, especially in Madras. At first they were handicapped a good deal by some attempted interference by the All-India Committee of Congress who, of course, have their own programme and wanted by means of a kind of dictatorship to enforce it in all provinces where there were Congress Ministers, but the Ministers, very rightly and stoutly, said they were responsible to the people who had elected them and they were going to deal with their provincial problems in their own way. Eventually, the Congress Committee has had to withdraw their dictatorship to a great extent, although some of Mr. Gandhi's pet theories are now being tried out, such as prohibition of alcohol and education of children on vocational lines instead of on purely literary lines.

I have always felt if provincial autonomy could be brought into being that the attitude of Congress toward federation would change a good deal. There is plenty for Provincial Ministers to do in eradicating abuses and

starting reforms, reforms of a kind which the British Governments were powerless even to introduce and I hope and believe that they will no longer be so anxious to achieve complete independence for India outside the British Empire. Mr. Gandhi himself has said that he will be willing to accept Dominion status if the British Government would now confer it but, of course, Dominion status is not a thing that can be conferred. As you know in Canada, it is a thing which has to be achieved by years of work and endeavour and then recognition of the status achieved can be made by the British Parliament, if necessary. Dominion status is not a privilege or a qualification which can be granted by any parliament. But Indians do not appreciate that and are perpetually demanding that this status should be conferred upon them.

Another thing which has emerged from the successful working of Congress Ministries in the provinces is that there is no definite policy of Congress, no leadership, no determination of the goal to which Congress and other Nationalist parties are moving. Congress, which was founded by two Englishmen in 1855, endeavoured for many years to achieve progress in India by Constitutional means. Then, it was captured by the left wing and eventually it announced that its object was separation of India from England. But it has shown on successive occasions that it has no definite and fixed aim. It has continually changed its aim as different parties within Congress gained sway and no one can say now who the leader of the Nationalist Movement in India is and what line will be taken when the new President of Congress is elected. The present President is an ardent Socialist and his idea is to destroy the Constitution which the British Government have offered and to make a clean sweep, to incite the people against the British Government, and to make a clean sweep before a new system is evolved by a constituent assembly of Indians will say what the future government will be.

But the only man whose word at present goes with the

masses of India is Mr. Ghandi. I mentioned just now that Mr. Gandhi led some subversive movement against the British Government, but it is not fair to blame Mr. Gandhi for the troubles of the past. He has always been an earnest seeker after truth and he has always been ready to acknowledge when his energies were diverted into wrong channels. He became for a time the tool of party politicians and his movement of civil disobedience and civil noncooperation gave rise to terrible outbreaks and massacres, and when he realized that, he was the first person to acknowledge that he had made a grievous mistake and he did fast and penance for it. He then quitted the Congress membership, finding that sainthood is tarnished by too close contact with politicians. He is an elder statesman whose advice is taken by the active politicians in moments of crisis and whose word goes with the masses of India because they reverence his ascetic life and the pure and lofty ideals which he has worked out for himself. He has not so far made any pronouncement on the subject of federation but he has said that parliamentary mentality has come to stay in India and he has hinted that he will not in future be a party to civil disobedience. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others, on the other hand, have openly hinted they will try and start civil disobedience again if the British Government tries to bring about federation.

It remains to be seen, first, whether a sufficient number of the princes will join in federation to enable it to be inaugurated. If they do not then the provincial autonomy will have to continue as it is with representative government in the provinces and unitarian, self-totalitarian government at the center. That, of course, cannot last long and it is up to the Indians themselves to try and find an alternative to this federation if they don't like it. So far, they have found no alternative because they cannot sink their own differences.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, speaking at Calcutta a little while ago, and he is one of the clearest and greatest thinkers

in India, said, "Our obstacles lie within our own hearts. We must clear away these misunderstandings. We must get rid of our own hatreds and jealousies. We must somehow settle our own differences before we can go together to any power, that is to say the British Government, and ask for a further instalment of reform."

And, Indians, I think, are beginning to realize that now. They are taking a tremendous interest in international affairs. They realize what it is going to be for them to be a nation among other nations. Hitherto, they have always been content to shelter under the aegis of the British power. They thought their problems could be solved under that shelter.

I remember once an Indian statesman who is now Prime Minister of an Indian state told me in London several years ago, "You British will shortly be going. We shall be governing our own country." He was an old friend of mine. I said, "Yes, what about the British army? Who will protect the frontier?" He said, "Oh! the British army, of course, will stay." I said, "Not at all. No British army can be left in a country at the beck and call of an Indian Ministry. It must always be under the authority of some one who is responsible to the British Parliament.

Indians are just beginning to see that defense means more than the massing of a certain amount of material, more than the enrolment of a militia, more than the attempt to stem invaders who come down through the north-western passes, by the doctrine of a hymn, say, or by offering love, as Mr. Gandhi suggested. Indians have been watching very closely the progress of affairs in the Far East and also in Europe. They are, of course, in sympathy with the Government of Spain. The Congress have sent an ambulance unit to Valencia. They sympathize deeply with the Abyssinians in their sufferings under the Italians. They sympathize deeply with the Chinese in what they are undergoing at Japanese hands now. They have been boycotting Japanese goods in Bombay and in Singapore

there was a riot of Chinese and Indians against the Japanese. They are developing a mentality which, I hope, will stand them in good stead when they come to take over charge of the government of India. They realize that money must be spent if you want to have effective defense. Formerly, their only contribution to the subject of defense was to complain that the British Government were always spending the greater part of the revenue of India on troops and munitions for the northwest frontier. Now, they realize that India must some day have a navy of its own and must some day have a thoroughly up-to-date air force, and must have an army which will not fight within itself but will be devoted to India's cause.

The great trouble about Indians taking charge of the Indian army, of course, is this Hindu-Mussulman rivalry which penetrates every walk of life and activity and forms such a barrier to progress.

I should like to read you what Sir Rabindranath Tagore said about Japan's present action. He said, "With the rest of India I once admired Japan and fondly hoped that in Japan Asia had at last discovered its challenge to the West and that Japan's new strength would be concentrated in safeguarding the culture of the East, but Japan has betrayed that rising hope and repudiated all that seemed significant in her wonderful and, to us, symbolic awakening and has now itself become a menace to the defenceless peoples of the East." (Applause.)

The realization of that is one of the most important things, I think, of the present day. A gentleman asked me two or three days ago at the place where I was lecturing, if there was a combined movement among the yellow and brown peoples of the East to sweep Europeans out of their borders. I said, "Not at all." It seemed to me to be quite a stupid thing to say. First of all, how could the yellow peoples combine together. There are innumerable different yellow peoples, all thinking different ways and, as I have explained to you, there are innumerable races.

in India by no means combined about anything. Japan has antagonized China for many years to come. Take Siam, for instance, which is a yellowish brown race. The Siamese are not Indians and they are not Chinese. They have been extremely friendly with the Japanese but they are fully alive to the dangers of Japanese conquest and I think that Japanese action in China will do more to stem Japanese intrusion into Siam than anything since the Japanese were in Siam. Between 1592 and 1632, I think it was, they were in Siam and they were expelled finally by massacre. They have come back again recently and have absorbed a great deal of trade in Siam but I don't think the members of the Siamese Government at present have any intention of being led astray by Japanese or of handing over their country to them. They are immensely jealous of their national individuality and they are very pro-British because their currency is linked to sterling. Many of them have been educated in England and America and France and I am convinced they will never allow the Japanese to cut that Isthmus of Kraw, of which you have been hearing so much.

But that is rather digressing from the Indian problem. I wanted to insist upon that point, in particular, that there is no combined movement of eastern nations, I feel perfectly sure, to get rid of western civilization and to turn out European peoples from their borders. I am sure that, take it all round, the people in India are immensely grateful for British rule and that they are quite certain they can only survive in the national race of they depend on British might for some time to come.

I feel I must say there is some doubt as to how the Indian people will regard recent political happenings in England. They have always considered that England stood for staunch adherence to principle and for the rights of democracy and for justice to smaller peoples, for the defence of the oppressed. I can't help feeling that the change over in British policy will come as rather a blow

to our best well wishers among the Indian people. They are always strong themselves upon the question of "izzat". "Izzat" means your honour. An Indian will cheerfully sacrifice his property, his house, his wife or his children or anything for the sake of the maintenance of his honour and he considers that the British people will always do the same. My own personal opinion is that the rapprochement with Germany and Italy is perhaps rather an unfortunate thing. It somehow doesn't smell right. It suggests a compromise. It suggests that there has been some surrender of principle and it reminds one rather of the time when England was liable to attack by the Danes and when the Dane-geld was paid to induce the enemy to go away for the time being. I dare say you remember a poem of Kipling's, in which he said :

It is always a temptation to a rich and lazy nation,
To puff and look important and to say:—
"Though we know we should defeat you, we have
not the time to meet you,
We will therefore pay you cash and go away."

And that is called paying the Dane-geld,
But we've proved it again and again,
That if once you have paid him the Dane-geld,
You never get rid of the Dane."

It is best to say—

We never pay anyone Dane-geld,
No matter how trifling the cost,
For the end of that game is oppression and shame,
And the nation that plays it is lost!"

It looks rather to me as though having paid the Dane-geld, we are going to be asked to pay some more. The Italians don't seem to be going to withdraw their people from Spain, as was expected until the frontiers are closed,

and Germany is loudly saying she wants colonies. The policy of giving way never pays where there is a question of principle at stake. (Applause.) I can't help feeling that our cousins and neighbours feel very much the same and that the only solution of the terrible mess in which the world has got at present is for the great Anglo-Saxon nations, side by side, to take their stand and tell the rest of the world what they stand for.

(Applause-prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Sir Robert, the objects of this Club are the advancement of the interests of Canada and a united Empire. By addressing us today you have greatly helped in our aims, as you have brought the problems of India closer to us.

On behalf of the members of The Empire Club of Canada and our guests I extend to you our grateful thanks for your interesting address.

(Applause.)

DEMOCRACY REAWAKENING

AN ADDRESS BY TURNER CATLEDGE

Thursday, March 10th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: The New York Times, one of the greatest newspapers in the world was founded in 1881, but the paper that we really know had its beginning in 1896. Its purchaser then, Mr. Adolph Ochs, had the ideal of a conservative paper which would never indulge in yellow journalism and that policy has been strictly adhered to. To distinguish this paper from the yellow journals of that day he adopted the motto which is still printed on the front page: "All the News That's Fit To Print." This paper is world-embracing and has its own correspondents in all centers of the world. Our guest-speaker, Mr. Turner Catledge, is one of the leading newspaper men in the United States and is on the staff of this great paper in Washington. His address, I believe, will include the analysis of the present business and political situations in the United States and his convictions as to the immediate future. At no time have the problems of one country so affected other countries as today, and there is no one better qualified than Mr. Catledge to speak on our neighbours' problems. "Democracy Awakening" is the title he has chosen for his address today and it is with great pleasure that I introduce to you Mr. Turner Catledge.

(Applause.)

MR. TURNER CATLEDGE: Mr. President, Mr. Consul, Members of the Press, Gentlemen of The Empire Club of Canada: Your gracious invitation for me to meet with you today has placed me under a debt which I am afraid I cannot hope to discharge by any remarks I might have to make to you at this time. The account has been com-

pounded considerably by the kind words of introduction and by the kindness and consideration with which I have been treated since arriving in your wonderful city early this morning—so much so in fact that I am afraid I must here and now confess insolvency so far as meeting that obligation is concerned. Therefore, Mr. President, I can only beseech your charity.

When your President, Mr. Harcourt, and your very personable member, Mr. Main Johnson, first suggested the possibility of my coming to Toronto to speak to The Empire Club, they said I might give you an account of the present situation in the United States. From Mr. Johnson's knowledge of the type of my work in Washington he meant, I assume, that I might describe to you the things that are taking place in my country from the standpoint of Government and public policy at this rather fretful period in our history. Along with some 500-odd other newspaper correspondents, I literally eat, drink and sleep with these phases of our national life day in and day out from year to year, except for those rare occasions when I have the pleasure of going visiting, as I am doing here today.

I shouldn't wonder that you would like to know what is happening with your neighbour down across the border. If I should succeed in presenting a clear picture to you today, I hope you will relay it back in some manner, for there are many people in the United States who would dearly like to know the same thing. This is not because they are uninformed as to the isolated daily happenings. As a newspaper correspondent I would be the last to admit that. But they are by no means certain as to what all the things that are stirring now mean in the aggregate—as to what they foretell in terms of the broader outlook for their economic and social and political lives. Considering this rather mystified state of mind of my own countrymen, it takes but little imagination to picture a large question mark silhouetted across your own conscious-

nesses. It must reflect considerable wonderment as to all the noise and contradictions that crackle daily across the wires that bind our countries together. One day there comes a rather pleasing word from Washington that the New Deal administration is to let up in its onward rush and conciliate its differences with private business. The very next follows a dispatch that it is to go off on another course of weeping reform; that it proposes to humble business to its very knees. Along comes word that the great programme of raising prices is to be abandoned because prices are already too high. Then comes word that prices are yet not high enough and must be boosted still further and then follows a long discourse on how some prices are to be raised and some are to be lowered, that "balanced prices" is the goal. One day the air reverberates with demands from financial interests great and small that the Government liquidate its efforts at recovery, relief and reform and turn the whole thing over to private enterprise—a demand to "let prosperity take its course." The next day there comes news of falling stock markets and the start of a new business recession, and the accompanying demand that the Government keep up its spending policies to prevent the recurrence of a frightful depression. One day we vow to balance our Federal budget and the next day we spend more than we take in. One day we try to coax the private companies to spend two or three billions of dollars in extensions and equipment and the next day a Government agent intimates a programme to drive the private utilities out of existence and to buy their existing facilities as practical junk.

There is an amusing story going the rounds of Washington apropos of all of this. According to this little tit-bit of American humour, our tax collecting agency found the record of a man who had consistently prospered in business ever since 1933. His success in recent years had become phenomenal. Month after month he had made more money than he made the month before. The tax

collector became suspicious. Something must be wrong. All this unvarying success was not to be overlooked. It had to be investigated. Weeks were spent looking into the business and private affairs of this poor man who had done nothing more than make money during the cyclonic periods through which the United States has been passing. He was shadowed by G-men. His relatives were questioned, his family harassed. After a long time a report of the investigation was filed. It consisted of one short sentence. It said: "This man cannot read and has no radio." In short, he was utterly unconfused by all the statements and counter-statements that flew in ever-increasing volume out of and into the stream-lined machine in Washington.

I wouldn't put you in that poor man's class. I sincerely trust that you have made money and waxed prosperous during these late troubled years, but I know you can read and I can tell from this gadget here before me that many of your people have a chance at least to listen to the radio. I am certain furthermore, that you have not been able to tune out competely the static from down the way. May I express the hope in passing, Mr. President and Gentlemen, that you will take these remarks in the spirit in which they are meant. I would be the last to visit a neighbouring country and entertain my hosts by casting aspersions on my own nation. But there is so much that strikes me as rather humorous in our situation that I cannot refrain from indulging in a bit of fun at times at our own expense.

Seriously, it may indeed be conceivable that sitting up here, on this side of the cooling breezes of the Great Lakes, that the conflicts and contradictions which we turn out daily seem much less severe than they do among our own people. You may be in a better position to balance one side against the other and to formulate a clearer understanding of what is going on—to separate the light from the heat, as it were.

But I question that, and in questioning it, I mean not

disparagement of your newspaper commentators of your own powers of perception. Frankly, and with due deference to us all, I do not think that you, nor we, nor anyone else knows right now exactly what will be the outcome of the present political manifestations in the United States. We can console ourselves with this thought, however. Our troubles do not issue from questions of fundamental purpose; they are confined almost wholly to questions of method. The purpose of our people now is the same as it was five years ago or a hundred years ago, for that matter. I do not know to what better source I could go than to President Roosevelt himself for a statement of the objectives of our efforts. On the fifth anniversary of the New Deal, which was a week ago yesterday, he reported his goal, restated it by quoting exactly what he had said in 1935, to a Canadian newspaper man.

He said then, "The social objective remains just what it was, which is to do what any honest government of any country would do; to try to increase the security and the happiness of people in all occupations of life and in all parts of the country; to give them more of the good things of life; to give them a greater distribution, not only of wealth in the narrow terms, but of wealth in the wider terms; to give them places to go in the summertime—recreation; to give them assurance that they are not going to starve in their old age; to give honest business a chance to go ahead and make a reasonable profit, and to give everyone a chance to make a living."

That is a statement of the purpose of the people of the United States and their government not one of us would dare dispute. But, Gentlemen, it is by no means new. It is merely an extension of Mr. Hoover's dream of "two cars in every garage and a chicken in every pot." It is a more serious statement of the earlier doctrine of a "full dinner pail." As a boy in the deep south I used to hear it in even more homespun terms. Candidates in our country used to run for office on the platform of "an early

spring, a late frost and plenty of side meat in the smoke-house." There is nothing new, then, as to our purpose. It was perhaps best stated in the preamble of our constitution—"to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Again I repeat that our troubles now are over methods, but I confess that those are troubles enough. This dispute over methods, in the minds of many of our people, has posed a serious question before the country as to the forms of government itself, and of the place and function of the central authority in directing the details of the march toward this common goal. As I see it, Gentlemen, we in the United States are faced directly with the question: Are we to proceed as we have for the last five years to develop a fast-moving, high-powered governmental mechanism to take us whizzing along the road toward our Utopia, Or, are we to settle down and move along toward our age-old purpose under a more traditional democracy which, as many of our people see it, was evolved through the long-continuing Anglo-Saxon revolt against the very restrictions and oppressions of government itself?

I should like to digress here just long enough to disclaim any intention to express opinions of my own as to the merits or demerits of forces and personalities contributing to the present situation in my country. I would make this qualification here no more than I would in addressing an audience in the United States. In my work in Washington I avoid such opinions as far as possible. My paper and its men are devoted primarily to the collection and transmittal of facts; to the gathering and dissemination of uncoloured news. We try to represent a balanced account of both sides of any and every issue that arises.

But there are times when, necessarily, we must appraise our facts in terms of evident trends; when we must try to determine what they add up to. And in that respect

I hold a rather definite belief concerning what is happening in the United States just now. I see in what is going on there—in the very contradictions and conflicts to which I have referred—a very significant sign. I see a substantial reawakening of traditional Democracy; of the type that resists Government; of the doctrine that holds that the “least governed is the best governed.” It is a reaction which I could not have believed were likely or even possible two, three or four years ago when we were suddenly caught up in a new enthusiasm to make Democracy work as an effective agent to pull us out of the economic dumps. And I consider it all the more important because I believe it is taking place not alone among the politicians in my city of Washington; not primarily within the so-called “economic royalty” in Wall Street; not even substantially among the partisans who ever hunger for public office. The reaction which has brought about our present situation, and which has contributed most to my own belief that traditional Democracy is awakening from the anaesthetic, is taking place out along the highways and byways of our broad land; along the main streets of our smaller cities and towns; in short, among the great middle class which still forms the very backbone of our Republic.

One would not have to travel far in the United States to gather this impression today. People are beginning to complain, with good old time Democratic complaint, against the restrictions and interferences of Government. I would not even stop to discuss the question of whether these complaints are real or fancied. If the people think they are real, that makes it so from a political standpoint whether they are in fact real or not. The most real thing in politics is public psychology.

I would not even ask you to take a trip through the States as much as I know you'd enjoy it, to check my deductions and my impressions. I would take you straight to Washington and let you see Congress in action. Whatever else one can say for or against our Congress one must

admit that it represents our people. The Congressmen and Senators certainly see to that. Individually they make it their business to find out what the people want or will stand for and the measure of their success in gauging the sentiment of the people is attested by the large number of successful, professional office holders who cling to their seats year after year in our national parliament. If I could only take you to see our Congress in action today and in some manner be able then to portray to you how it was acting at this very hour five years ago today, then I am sure I would need go no further with a computation of the facts to show you that the people, through their representatives, are looking more to the comforts of old-time Democracy.

Certainly I would not have to review the record of the recent past to impress you with what is going on now. Here in Toronto you have been too close to our scene to require such a recapitulation. However, I would like to point out here that, on the basis of our record, the people of the United States did give up some of their traditional Democracy in their resort to common fast action to end the terrible economic depression back in 1933. They did it deliberately, willingly and with full warning of what they were doing. I can specify the date, almost to the hour, when we put our traditional Democracy in the closet in order to form a more perfect instrument with which to defend our economic system. It was March 4, 1933—the day when Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office as President—sometime around the hour of 12.00 noon, when he stood in rain and snow on the Capitol steps and asked the nation for a lease on certain parts of our cherished freedom for the duration of an emergency which had already closed our banks and was threatening ruin to our whole capitalistic structure. He told the damp, gloomy, crestfallen crowd in our capital plaza that day that if necessary he would ask Congress, their representatives, “for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad

executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe."

That was the warning. The sound of those words had hardly died away when the President fulfilled that warning. He asked for the "broad executive powers," just as he said he would, and Congress granted them without stint. What was troubling the country at that time was an eruption in our banking system which brought us, so we can see now in retrospect, to the very brink of economic collapse. Many people thought no doubt that what the President had in mind when he suggested the application of broad, let us even say, "dictatorial" powers, that he had the banking situation in mind. But there were other crises to meet, as he soon was to tell us. There was the pressing question of human relief. An estimated total of 12,000,000 persons were then out of means of earning a livelihood through no fault of their own. The President said, "They shall not starve," and the nation applauded him for saying it. There followed our policy of relief and work relief through which more than ten billion dollars have been poured out from the Federal Treasury in Washington. There was a "crisis" in agriculture. Prices were low and mortgages were crushing the farmers. Citizens in certain parts of our country were taking the law into their own hands, preventing credit sales, stopping the processes of law—in one case dragging a judge from his official bench and tarring and feathering him for ordering a foreclosure of a farmer's mortgage. That was no time to haggle over academic questions of tradition or individual liberty. We considered our situation to be one not of tradition of liberty or ease but actually of life and death to the Republic.

Soon there were governmental measures in force to relieve these conditions; to raise prices, to help the debt-ridden. We even cheapened our money in order that farmers and other debtors might pay their accounts with

dollars of a value more in keeping with the level at which they hired the money.

There was a "crisis" in industry, involving both capital and labour. Early in the spring of 1933 I witnessed the duly elected spokesman for the organized business of the United States, join hands dramatically with the then representative of organized labour, in asking a committee of Congress to report a bill establishing frank and open dictatorial Federal powers over private business. I remember how startled even our New Dealish Congressmen were at such a spectacle. One Congressman asked in sincere horror, "What about the Constitution?" and the business representative replied, "The Constitution can be amended," and he offered the services of his far-flung business organization to help shove through a Congressional amendment in record time. The United States Chamber of Commerce was the organization.

There was a "crisis" among our home owners—among the middle classes, which I already have classified as the very backbone of our society. Mortgages were being foreclosed; equipment was being reclaimed and equities were vanishing in the scramble of investors to turn every possible asset into ready cash. An organization known as the Home Owners Loan Corporation, originally created under the Hoover administration, was put into full force, rescuing these people from utter ruin. Another agency known as the Farm Credit Administration was organized as a rescue squad for farmers caught in the same plight.

I mention these things, Gentlemen, in order to show you how in those early days we set the stage for exactly what is happening now. Every one of these acts involved the surrender of some part of our time-honoured system, some form of individual liberty which before those days we had surrounded with something approaching sanctity. I know the arguments as to why this should have been done even from a long range standpoint. I heard the contention raised then as it is indeed raised now, that

besides the needs for meeting the emergency, the measures put in force cured evils of long standing and put a better balance into our economy as between the debtors and the creditors, between main street and wall street, between the haves and the have-nots. I would not attempt here to go into the merits or demerits of these contentions. Really, as I have said before, I am not primarily concerned whether all or any of these measures were justified by academic standards. I can only say that they were promulgated, that they were accepted, that they were looked upon as life-lines by those for whom they were enacted and that they unquestionably were approved by the vast majority of our people at the time—and that today some of them, if not the whole philosophy that gave them basis, is being reappraised more and more in light of our more traditional concepts of freedom.

Why, Mr. President and Members of The Empire Club, by the end of the first session of Congress under Mr. Roosevelt, nineteen different acts had been passed, giving him greater control over the lives and property of American citizens than had been given to all Presidents before him combined, either in peace or war. The Government was in the banking, mortgage, feed, dairy, cotton, wheat, cattle, relief, construction, securities and communications business, and was preparing to regulate the hours and wages of labour, in industry generally. Under the authority of only four of these acts we set in motion the celebrated and ill-fated NRA—an attempt to supplant classic economics and “rugged individualism” in the field of business and industry, by government control. We set up the equally ill-fated Agricultural Adjustment Administration—through which we attempted to curb both the bounties and ravages of nature. Under one of them we practically doubled our circulating currency and under still another we started—but only started—to dismember a Federal bureaucracy which, as we thought then, was seriously threatening our public credit.

I emphasize again and again that hardly an audible voice was raised against any of this. We were under the pressure of circumstances. The immediate pain was too great to permit delay or of any more mature consideration than we gave things in those days. The early growth of the New Deal was so rapid as to frighten into silence the opposition party in Congress. Those who bore the same party label as the President tried to keep near the head of the procession to avoid being trampled in the onward rush. All the time there was being recruited in Washington an odd assortment of personnel—names seldom heard outside of the cloistered precincts of colleges or the inner offices of great corporations began to appear in the newspaper headlines. The old line politicians soon found their places in the national spotlight being rather rudely usurped by others. They merely bowed to what they felt then was the inevitable.

Two whooping triumphs at the polls—in the Congressional elections in 1934 and the Presidential election in 1936—seemed to confirm the approval of the people for all of this.

What then, you would ask, has happened to alter this picture in the United States? Why does our country seem to be halting now in the forward march of this great democracy? In simple language, why all this shooting down across the lakes?

The complete answer is the chapter which is now being written in our history. It cannot be told with unflinching accuracy at this time. But again I would repeat my own belief that fundamental to the whole reaction is the re-awakening of the Democratic concepts that were surrendered in those days when we were told, and when we believed, that Democracy had to be transformed into a quick-moving machine for the very purpose of saving itself. I think that, in the main, that is the answer to the apparent dawdling of our Congress, of many of the apparent inconsistencies and contradictions in the policies of the adminis-

tration and to the reactions of our thinking people, as you have noted them on your visits to the States and in the newspaper comments which flood daily across the border.

And I think, Mr. President and Members of The Empire Club, that I can fairly well date the beginning of this new idea among us. Strange as it may seem, it began on the morning after Mr. Roosevelt's re-election in 1936, on the very day when the statistics of the case seemed to dispel all questions as to the popularity of his regime or the completeness of his power.

While I wouldn't dare to set myself up as a better judge of those election returns than anyone else, I do question the appraisal made of them by many people in high places. I question most of all that they constituted another blank cheque for the New Deal Administration to fill out as it would so far as future intentions were concerned. I consider them then and I consider them now just as much of a reward for a job well done as a mandate for future action. That re-election was in large part a tribute to Mr. Roosevelt for having brought the country through a trying period and placed it on what then seemed to be a prosperous course.

I remember quite vividly a conversation I had with a well-known Senator, one of the President's stalwart leaders in the emergency days, soon after his return to Washington in January, 1937. Like all other Democratic Senators reaching the Capital in the post-election period he was happy and, I might add, quite contented. I might add that he was extremely happy as his own constituency had just re-elected him for another six years. He drew himself up to his desk, put his feet on the glass top, lighted his cigar and grunted two or three self-satisfying grunts.

"Well," he said, "that was a tough three and one-half years. I hope now that the President will settle down; that he'll let us draw up in the shade and cool off a bit. The country needs rest."

He almost went asleep while he was talking—just as well as if he had eaten a whole pumpkin pie. That Senator was and still is an important cog in our Federal legislative machinery. Often times his word on a bill finally settles it one way or the other. But beyond his own weight there was great importance in the view he expressed on that occasion. Many of his fellows, just like himself, had had enough for a while and wanted “to draw up in the shade and cool off.”

But, Gentlemen, that was not to occur, at least not with President Roosevelt's consent. Within a matter of days after this Senator had expressed this heartfelt desire, he and his colleagues were faced with a bill to recognize the administrative arm of the Government, a bill more sweeping in its terms than anything of its kind ever proposed before. Under its terms much of the powers already granted in the emergency period were to be confirmed and still others to be added. Among other things there would have been given into his hands complete control over a great collection of quasi-judicial bodies which Congress had set up as its own agencies, such agencies as those that regulate the railroads, the securities exchanges, maritime shipping and the like. Hardly had my forlorn Senator and his associates recovered from this shock to their complacency when the President dropped on their heads his plan for reorganizing the Federal judiciary system—to remove the greatest obstruction from the path of the New Deal and then prepare for future action.

The record since that time, Gentlemen, is the record of the conflicts and contradictions that I alluded to in the beginning. The court bill was flatly denied the President. The reorganization bill had not passed when I left Washington last night. It is still under consideration in the Senate. Other acts asked by the President were changed or turned down to such an extent that only a week ago he intimated that he might change his entire strategy with Congress and leave it largely to its own devices—

simply recommended the policies he hoped to promulgate and sufficing at that so far as he is concerned. Congress most evidently has shown by its present demeanour that it doubts the desire of the people for a fast-moving highly-centralized governmental machine for permanent and continuing control and direction of their economy as seems to so many of its members to be inherent in the President's legislative programme.

And I question, too, Mr. President, that the will of our people on this score has ever been adequately tested. It is, however, being tested now and the next election for which we are preparing should give some indication of the trend, assuming that our present economic situation does not become so difficult as to drive us again into emergency action and assuming furthermore that the acute international situation does not do the same thing.

I should like to digress long enough to say that regardless of our own professions of isolation in the United States we are being driven into a place in world leadership, unhappy as it might make us.

I would not have you believe that all things political in the United States fit perfectly into the picture. I have given you here of our situation, but I think in general on the basis of reality that is what is taking place. The re-awakening of Democracy as I see it in progress now may indeed be short-lived. It may be a fitful rally before my country goes definitely and permanently into the kind of governmental programme which so many of our people in official position contend, with quite convincing argument, is inevitable and even preferable. The old, slow, easy going type of government, the type which many of our officials derisively describe as *laissez-faire*, has no doubt lost much of its glamour. I doubt that it was even meant to be an efficient organization of men and resources. In times of stress, such as war or economic peril, both of which have occurred in my life time, we have resorted to something more controllable and more controlled—but

something we always insisted was temporary, and democratic all the time. We are facing the test now as to whether old time democracy is to be restored to its former peace-time importance. The answer to that, Mr. President, and my genial hosts, I must leave until we meet again. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Catledge, we are indeed indebted to you for making the long trip from Washington to Toronto. We have greatly enjoyed hearing your comments on the present situation in your country. Many of your remarks seem very much like home. May you have an early spring and a late frost.

On behalf of The Empire Club of Canada, I offer you our most sincere thanks. (Applause.)

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

AN ADDRESS BY ANUP SINGH, M.A., PH.D.

Thursday, March 17th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, it may seem strange in view of the turmoil and strife throughout the world today that we are here to listen to an address on India's fight for freedom, but it takes little imagination to understand the difference between the satisfied India and the dissatisfied India in the present crisis which is facing the British Commonwealth.

Our guest-speaker, Dr. Singh, has the rich cultural heritage of ancient India and years of advanced study in American universities, as well as the experience gained from extensive travel and observation, and he speaks with authority on this great Empire, his home.

The year that saw the birth of the Empire Club of Canada also in far off India saw the birth of Anup Singh. Today we meet. Our ideals, I think, are the same, a united Empire, founded on British ideals of liberty, freedom and self-government. We await with interest the address of our guest-speaker, Dr. Singh.

(Applause.)

DR. ANUP SINGH: Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club: I deem it a great privilege to be with you this afternoon. Particularly, it is gratifying to note, in spite of the fact that the news from other parts, as your President said, is gripping the attention of the entire world, that you have come to listen to a discussion on India—it is really very encouraging. I think, however, I have a claim upon your attention, due to the fact that India is a member of the British Empire. It represents 350 million people—virtually one-fifth of the human race, and the fact that two out of three British subjects live in India

makes any discussion on India either at this time or any other time very pertinent and I think it is appropriate that I am discussing this problem with you this afternoon.

As I retrovert a little to the world events of the past few years there are two things that stand out, to my mind. One is the fact that the ordinary processes of government that the world had evolved and was getting accustomed to are being discarded; and the second is the fact that we seem to be caught absolutely unaware in the rapidly shifting scenes coming one after another and we don't seem to realize what has brought them about.

I would like to take you back a little to the situation in Manchuria, when that formed the headlines. Japan grabbed Manchuria and installed a puppet king, the Japanese Henry Pu Yi. The world acquiesced and accepted that as a fact accomplished.

Then the scene shifted to Ethiopia, where Mussolini, I think in contemptuous defiance of the entire world drove with his bayonet and guns the King of Kings, who went begging for his throne to all places. Well, Ethiopia was no more and we got accustomed to that.

Then the scene shifted to Spain where the civil war has been responsible for the mutual annihilation of two groups and the devastation of the whole beautiful country. And, more recently, we have got used to the news from Spain.

And now we turn our attention to Austria and Central Europe, to what is happening there.

One thing is very clear and that is the fact that physical force, that brutal force is coming once more to the surface and we are living in a very dismal, cynical age in which the whole ideals of democracy or a representative form of government, all those ideals are for the first time on the defensive. But I think it is noteworthy that even at a time like this there are millions of people living in various parts of the world who subscribe to the doctrines of democracy and who still have faith that the democratic form of government is the only form of government that provides enough opportunity for the modern and spiritual growth of men.

They still accept that doctrine and that form of government as the best that man has evolved, in spite of all its shortcomings and I think it is still more noteworthy that a very large number of those people live within the British Empire, the people who accept democracy as the most excellent form of government that has ever been invented and who are willing to pay the price and are determined to maintain those principles.

But there is one note in this whole situation that I should like to call into challenge and that is the position of India.

Senator Borah, very recently, made the remark that the British claim for being the champions of democracy sounds a bit hollow when millions of people in India do not have the elementary political and civic rights. That interpretation, I admit, is a bit exaggerated, but it is true that India is not a full-fledged member of the Empire and does not have equal representation and does not determine her policies either internally or outside of the country. I say it is a challenge because if you believe in democracy it means extending the same rights to other people, and no amount of sophistry, no amount of assumed or alleged or inherent inability of the people of India to determine their affairs is a valid excuse, because the democratic form of government presupposes the acceptance of the right of the people to even bungle their affairs. As I look around I do not know who are the people who can be declared to be the most worthy custodians of the representative form of government.

I say this because there are a number of people who think that the democratic form of government is good enough for Australians and for Canadians and for Britishers, but these people in India who have an entirely different background, different social customs, they have to be trained very, very gradually, and trained in the art of self-government. I submit this proposition for your consideration, that unless you can extend equal political rights to 350 million people of India, the claim of being a democratic people, the vanguard of democratic institutions will really

sound a bit hollow. And that, I suggest, is a challenge both to the people of India and to the people of Great Britain.

The second thing that becomes more and more apparent to my mind is that we seem to be caught in these dilemmas, these rapidly shifting events, precisely because we do not see them coming far ahead . . . the imperceptible drifts of these events which eventually culminates in these tragic disasters. They are there for anybody to see but we haven't cultivated highly the art or sense of perceiving them at the proper time.

I say this because I feel the apparent calm in India is also a bit deceptive. The news from India does not form headlines today and most people think that things are going on smoothly. Having been recently to India and having had the privilege of interviewing a number of Indian statesmen and also the British statesmen, I have come back with the feeling that the whole atmosphere is charged with explosive possibilities. Any serious mistake, either by the Indian statesmen or by the British can very easily culminate in a disaster which will be mutually as disastrous both for India and for Britain, and it is therefore pertinent to discuss Indian problems at this juncture.

Now, before I come down to the real situation in India today I would like to discuss with you a few propositions and in the time limit it is not possible to substantiate some of the claims that I am going to make, but if I can succeed in provoking enough interest on your part to further study these problems, to re-examine some of your notions which oftentimes are accepted uncritically, I will be very much satisfied.

There are a few notions about India which make it utterly impossible for the average person outside of India, in spite of all his sympathies on moral grounds, in spite of all his sympathies with the Indian National Movement, a few facts which he has accepted uncritically render it impossible for him to be whole-heartedly enthusiastic about India's claim for self-government, and one of those propo-

sitions is that often-made assertion that the people of India or for that matter the people of the Orient have always known the despotic form of government and it would therefore be a very long period before they could acquire any sense of the knowledge of the mechanism of self-government.

I think that that generalization is untenable. The people of India have known monarchies, empires, republics, just as much as the people of Europe have. The small nations of India used to have their kings and elected assemblies to determine the affairs of the village people and I therefore suggest you re-examine those notions when you most pedagogically assert that the people of India have always known arbitrary rule. In theory, as in Europe, the king was always subject to natural law. The same prevailed in India also under the sanction of dharmi, that is his duty toward his subjects and I submit in actual practice also the regime of those kings and emperors could be favourably compared with any part of the world, considering the contemporary standard.

The second great charge or indictment against the people of India is that they are heterogeneous, that, therefore, any unity on either political or social grounds would be made utterly impossible.

The people of India to an outsider do appear a most heterogeneous group of people. There is a regular pageant for an outsider when he goes and finds customs and habits and dialects and what not, changing from village to village and from place to place.

That, again, I suggest is the freely superficial. India's cultural and spiritual unity, and by that I mean the fundamental outlook on life, is so real and so unified that I suggest they constitute a group entirely different to the rest of the world in that sense. In spite of these apparent differences the Hindu and Moslem in Kashmir and the Hindu and the Moslem in Madras, or in any other place, underneath the superficial differences, are essentially the same, and this brings me to the most widely discussed problem

of the Hindus and the Moslems. I think that has created more misunderstanding about the real problem of India than any other single problem.

The British claim that the withdrawal of British rule from India will culminate in mutual annihilation of two groups who were always fighting before the British came and who continue fighting, so much so that wherever two or three or half a dozen Indians get together if they happen to belong to two different religions, they take delight in cutting each other's throats.

I have noticed those headlines in American papers and also in Canadian papers. I am here to give you most candidly my observations that I made recently in India. I think that the picture of the Hindu-Moslem problem is highly exaggerated. Nine-tenths of the people live in small villages, peacefully, side by side. There has never been one instance of riots among these villagers. One-tenth of the people live in the large cities and that is where most of the Hindu-Moslem riots are confined and there are various reasons for that.

The first and foremost is the new political consciousness which is working both ways. On the one hand it is bringing various groups together and on the other hand it is making each community self-conscious for the first time, and the introduction of the voting system which divides the whole Indian electorate in terms of various communities is directly responsible for accentuating these differences and the Nationalist plea that that introduction was the most vicious thing that ever could have been devised is substantially correct. Here, for the first time they are teaching these groups to think more in terms of their community, their religion than to think in terms of the larger economic or larger all-India interest. But above all this, in spite of these differences which have been exaggerated, I noticed that the Hindus and the Moslems in the new assemblies, in the Provincial Assemblies today are working hand in hand to solve their economic problems. I noticed in the Punjab, in my own province, when a certain bill came out, the

farmers, in spite of their religious affiliations voted on one side, and the city dwellers—the lawyers, the bankers, the money-lenders and the rest of the people—voted on the other side. That, to me, was an indication that in these representative institutions these groups are getting together and learning to think more in terms of their economic interest, rather than to think in terms of religious affiliation.

So I suggest the problem of the Hindu and the Moslem does not constitute any barrier against India's claim for self-government.

There is the perennial problem of the India caste system. Indian society has been divided for centuries in the supercilious groups, based entirely upon one's birth. That institution today is also on the defensive. The caste system is breaking down in India very rapidly and the credit for that, the main credit goes to Mr. Gandhi, who has come out openly and has advocated the rights of these untouchables who, after all, bear the brunt of this iniquitous system. He is advocating their right and making a great success and for the first time he has put the upper class people on the defensive.

The simple logic with which Mahatma Gandhi approaches his people is this: A few people of the upper classes are determined to get their political and economic rights from Great Britain. By the same logic they must be prepared to extend equal social and economic rights to those people whom they have mistreated. He is therefore enlisting a great deal of response and co-operation on the part of the younger people in India. The caste system, again I submit, is not a bar against India's right to self-government.

There is the problem of Nationalism—how far India has really evolved a sense of nationhood. Well, in this matter most of the critics I think made one serious mistake. They seemed to assume that Nationalism has a political phenomena—that it was always known to people in the Occident. That happens to be historically inaccurate. It is only since the French Revolution, a matter

of 150 or 200 years, that this system or this political philosophy has come into existence. Before that there was your feudal laws. Then came the emergence of the middle class that introduced this idea of nationalism and even today you have to make tremendous efforts—the worship of the flag, revising your histories—to keep the younger people conscious of their common nationhood. I submit that the same forces that brought about nationalism in the West are now operating India and it is simply a matter of time when the people of India will also begin to talk of India as one unit—India for the Indians—and very likely they will turn out some of the jingoistic Nationalists who also, to my mind, constitute a great menace—that process is going on in Indian today.

These are some of the popularly accepted notions about Indian political and economic and social structure which I think have to be cleared up before any discussion of the Indian problem can be worked on.

Now, coming down to more recent and the present times in India. The dominant note in the Indian public life today is politics. I was so amazed when I went back to my village after ten years stay in the United States to find that the elder statesmen of the village, who formerly when they got their whole group together would spend the time in discussion of their religious scriptures, were now expounding some of the outstanding political doctrines of today. Instead of discussing Hinduism or Christianity, they were discussing Lenin, Gandhi, Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler.

I say this because that, to my mind, was an indication of the fact that the people in India today are discussing precisely the same matters that you are concerned with here.

A few factors or forces have brought about that change in the Indian outlook. I can definitely mention just a few. The first and foremost factor that is responsible for creating politically-minded India is the introduction of education in India, the modern education. The British introduced this system primarily for the purpose of creating a small group of educated people in India who would co-operate and carry

on the administration. But these people when they were initiated for the first time into European history, when they began to read Wordsworth, Milton and other writers, when they began to study the French Revolution, they, for the first time, became aware of the fact that India alone of all countries was under the domination of another group and that consciousness among the educated people, to my mind, was the first germ which was created or implanted by the British in India.

Then, the missionaries also have contributed a great deal in creating the present political consciousness. It may not seem very apparent but indirectly they have been one of the great forces. The early missionaries went to India to convert the Hindus and Moslems to Christianity. In their very attempt they made the Hindus and Moslems conscious of their own religion. They began to re-examine their religions from the impact of this new challenge. The missionaries claimed their religion, Christianity, to be superior to Hinduism or Islam. A few people in both groups began to re-examine their religion and in that attempt they began to eulogize everything that was Indian. They began to eulogize India's past glory and it made them conscious, as Indians whose religion was challenged.

A third great factor which brought about this change was the introduction of modern machinery in India, facilitating communications, bringing various groups together, and the introduction of newspapers in India the circulation of which made it possible for the first time for people in Kashmir, in the Punjab and in Madras to communicate with each other and exchange ideas.

But all this consciousness before the World War was confined on only a handful of educated people who were loyal British subjects, who co-operated with the British regime. There were individuals here and there who tried to initiate some revolt against the British but it always culminated in utter disaster because there was no mass movement at the time.

The parting of the ways, really, the immediate back-

ground of the whole Indian agitation today is the World War, and I think any discussion of the Indian political problem or present conditions in India largely begins with the World War. You all recall that India threw in her lot with the Allies. Even a man like Gandhi, who loves to call himself a rebel today, was the first one to go out and recruit people to fight side by side with the English people.

During this time Mr. Lloyd George made a very significant statement, that after the termination of her war, India would be given a measure of self-government. That statement was taken literally by the Indian people and it aroused their hopes and desires for further political reforms in India. The war was over and naturally India began to look to England to redeem her pledge. England came forward with a very substantial grant of self-government to the Indian people in the form of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919.

Most unfortunately just at this time the most tragic thing happened in my own home town. I am not going to go into the details of that but it is enough to recall the infamous massacre when General Dwyer, I think in a fit of absent-mindedness, shot down 700 Indian people, men, women and children, assembled in a peaceful meeting as a protest against some of the oppressive measures recently passed by the British. When the news of that reached the other parts of India the whole of India was indignant and Mr. Gandhi at that time called upon the British Government to rectify the harm that had been done to her people. They appointed the Hunter Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter. Three Indians and four Britishers served on that Commission and that, to my mind, is the first cleavage between the loyal, conservative Indians and the British point of view. The minority report was submitted by the Indian people and the majority report, signed unanimously by the British, was submitted. General Dwyer was retired on full pension from the Indian Service, and the thing which I think made the whole of India feel a sense of humiliation for the first time was the

fact that the General's good friends and admirers, and many of them Members of the British House of Lords, presented him with a purse as a token for his meritorious services, he was then supposed to have rendered to the Empire.

And that was the beginning of the Nationalist movement on a large scale because Gandhi at this juncture came forward and declared himself a rebel against the British rule in India and called upon his people to launch a move known as the non-co-operation, non-violence movement.

Those of you who have perused the newspapers need not be reminded about the outstanding events since that movement. It is enough to say that during this great controversy, bitter political rivalry and hatred, accentuated often by racial arrogance on the part of individual British administrators, created a very vicious atmosphere, and since then it has become utterly impossible to negotiate with any sense of confidence or fair play on either side.

We have a legend in ancient India that the gods and demons at one time set out to recover the nectar of immortality for the human race. They began to churn the ocean and the excessive churning produced poison. The problem then was to look after this poison which threatened the lives of all the people and that is precisely the situation in India today. There is so much of mutual distrust and lack of good faith on either side that it is making the whole controversy more bitter than it would be under normal circumstances.

The Round Table Conference were convened, you recall, in London—the first great attempt to get the Indians and the British people together. Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in the first Round Table Conference but he consented to join the second, and that started also events, without bringing peace to India. The reason for that is very simple—that the British Government treated Mr. Gandhi as one of the 124 delegates that had assembled in London. Gandhi's claim that he and he alone was capable of representing the Indian people, that he was voicing

the sentiments of the British articulate. India was never seriously entertained by the British, and the Hindus, the Moslems, the Sikhs, the Budhists, the delegates brought to London, nominated by the British, these people went on quarreling with each other. Gandhi made one claim at the time. When he looked around he said, "This is an ill-assorted bunch of politicians from India, and if either one of these people went back to India and stood for election against an ordinary member of the Congress he would be defeated." That claim was indicated correct very recently when one of the outstanding Liberals, a leading delegate at London, stood for election and secured only three votes—his own, the vote of his wife and the vote of his daughter. Gandhi was right and at the Round Table Conference, for good or bad, he alone was in a position to speak on behalf of India.

You recall that he went back to India and started a movement there and since then the British have been working day and night for years to evolve or work out this new Constitution and the whole agitation centers around that new Constitution today.

Lord Linlithgow very sincerely referred to that new Constitution as "the greatest experiment in the whole of human history, an attempt to introduce a representative form of government at a time when it is being discarded elsewhere."

Mr. Churchill calls it "a monument of shame built by the pygmies, both British and Indian." With his characteristic pungency he refers to it a "monument of shame." He thinks that Great Britain has gone too far.

The outstanding leader of India, Mr. Nehru, next to Gandhi the most popular figure, calls this a "charter of slavery."

There you have three distinct points of view. Is it a noble experiment, is it a monument of shame, or is it a charter of slavery? I suggest all those three views, again, are highly exaggerated, but the political reality which calls for immediate attention is the attitude of Mr. Nehru and his followers. It is not what Lord Linlithgow thinks, and

he is very sincere in his interpretation. It is not what Mr. Churchill thinks. It is the fact that millions of people in India take Nehru's words as the gospel truth and that is the reality that has to be faced.

What are the specific grievances against the new Constitution? It retains the foreign affairs and the defense of India in the hands of the Viceroy. They can't be discussed in the newly elected assembly under the new Constitution and India is getting more and more concerned about her foreign affairs, about what her attitude is going to be in the next war. She wants to have a say in determining that policy but the newly elected assembly under the new Constitution would have no such powers.

The matter of finance would be dealt with by federal banks, to be established by federal enactment and the Indian assembly would have no control over them.

The railway system would be administered by a Board of Directors, to be appointed by the Board of Governors and the Indian assembly would have no control over it.

Some of the Nationalists claim when you eliminate foreign affairs, matters of defense, finance, the railway board, you reduce the whole thing to something which does not seem any advance over the 1919 Constitution, and the Provincial Assemblies, in which the Indians would have the majority are left without the ability to finance the projects which they might launch in the matter of social and economic reforms in India.

My own interpretation is that before very long Great Britain will be called upon to modify that Constitution. I have seen enough indication of change of heart in India and also in England when I have passed through there. I think they are beginning to feel that they cannot have a rebel India on their hands at a time like this and as I suggested the other day, the fear of another World War which is also pending is having a very sobering and chastening effect, both upon India and upon Great Britain.

India needs Britain's protection. All this talk about threatening to drive the British out of India is a mere

bargaining gesture on the part of a handful of the ultra-Nationalists in the National Congress. Leading members that I interviewed are all convinced they want Dominion status in the Empire, but, may I suggest here at this time, this handful of people are being given the opportunity to spread their gospel, to spread their creed every day and the sooner Great Britain realizes that it is to her advantage to negotiate with Gandhi rather than wait until they have to deal with a man more belligerent, more uncompromising, more violent, the better. It would be tragic, both for England and for India, to wait for that moment.

Now, the picture of the British rule that has been made familiar to the people in India is something like that and I want you to place that picture side by side with the picture that is painted with a great deal of sincerity and force by the British politicians. The British politicians claim they have given to India law and order, something she has never known before.

I want to put this in the form of a dialogue.

The Nationalist comes along and says, without that law and order the British exploitation of India would not have been possible. Therefore, they don't feel gratified that the British have succeeded in introducing law and order in India.

Gandhi calls the law and order a peace of the grave, a situation in which millions of people are not allowed to participate, in determining their affairs their peace and order is not worth anything, that it is the old function of the government, the police function, that the new situation calls upon a more progressive outlook on the part of Great Britain toward India, that she identify herself completely with the interests of the Indian people and not think in the old Imperialistic terms.

The British claim that they have introduced education in India. The Nationalists don't feel any sense of gratitude then on that score. They say by introducing English education you have created a cleavage between the educated people in India and the village folk. Their outlook is not

the same today as it was before and that you educated them to make your administration possible, and during 150 years of rule in India you have educated only eight percent of the people of the male population and three percent of the female population. You have been spending most of the money on military affairs and on the Civil Service, the pensions and the mounting debt of India can be attributed largely to the war in which India participated, and that Russia has done more for the education of her people during the last fifteen years than has been done for the people of India in 150 years. That comparison, and such comments, incidentally, are not very flattering to the British rule in India.

So, as you are advancing arguments to justify the rule in India the very same argument is twisted by the Nationalist and interpreted as his first claim upon self-government.

Take the fact that India today is absolutely disarmed. That is used by Great Britain as an excuse to perpetuate their political domination in India. The argument is, what will India do without the help of Great Britain? The Nationalists feel, and I think in this sense rightly so, that Great Britain being suspicious of the Indian people for a long time never encouraged military education in India. They have disarmed the people completely and if England now claims that India is helpless, England herself is to blame.

I mention this just to bring to you what is going on in the mind of the average Nationalist and there is a good deal of propaganda on both sides.

I am reminded of the story of a Russian peasant woman who had never seen a camel in her life. When the Bolsheviks came into power, she had been hearing a great deal about the diabolical Bolsheviks, and a camel happened to pass through her village. She looked at the animal with a great deal of astonishment and said, "Those darned Bolsheviks! See what they have done to our horses!"

So, when the propaganda becomes too rampant people lose their perspective. No Englishman today can go

around and claim that the whole agitation in India is stirred up by a handful of Nationalists. Nor can a sane and sober, conscientious Nationalist in India claim that the British rule has been entirely for the benefit of English people, but, as I suggested in the beginning, it is not worth while to either indict the British or to eulogize the British, to either praise the Nationalists in India, or indict the Nationalists. Statesmanship today calls for a very sober and sane appraisal of the whole situation and one great factor which to my mind is going to be the determining factor in the whole situation is that England today is dealing with a new India, an India that might have been guilty of her sins of omission and commission in the past, and so have been many other countries, but India feels a sense of frustration and humiliation to be the only country, a country of 350 million people today, in the 20th century, taking dictation from a foreign power, and that sentiment is so profound and so wide-spread that even those people who do not take an active part in politics cherish that feeling uppermost in their hearts. They are looking forward to a day when India will be a free, self-governing country.

May I say at this juncture that any attempt to clarify the vicious political atmosphere that prevails in India today will not only create an atmosphere for the social and economic rehabilitation of India which calls for very rapid and drastic measures, but it would also be a great contribution to the ideals of democracy and it would be a matter of inspiration to those people already becoming cynical, who are getting disillusioned about ideals in the world today. I feel that there is enough statesmanship on both sides; they are both sitting back more or less and letting things drift, unwilling to cross the bridges until they come to them. I think that policy of muddling through and drifting is a policy that should be immediately discarded and England take full charge of the situation in India, and the redeeming feature in India today is that you have at the head of affairs a man who is definitely committed not as a

matter of expediency but as a matter of principle to the policy of non-violence and peaceful methods to be pursued, and when the rest of the world is dancing the mad dance of the sword, there is one man alive today who thinks that nothing worth while has ever been accomplished by physical force. That to my mind is the great moral inspiration for the people of India, and it should be a matter of great inspiration to the people of the world at large. So long as that man is there, and even if he is removed from the scene tomorrow, he has inculcated that spirit among his followers and I therefore feel that there is no need to be alarmed about the situation in India, as long as that controversy is carried along peaceful lines. To my mind, no matter who comes to power, the people of India are definitely committed to a policy of peaceful, continuous education to regain their political rights.

I thank you.

(Applause prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Dr. Singh, we listened with great interest to an address by your friend, Sir Robert Erskine Holland, entitled "Changing India." Today we have heard a very interesting address by another British subject. Your views are slightly different but the ultimate objective is the same. May those differences be solved.

On behalf of The Empire Club of Canada, I offer you our sincere thanks for your instructive address today. The meeting is adjourned.

DEMOCRACY AND WORLD AFFAIRS

AN ADDRESS BY SIR HOWARD D'EGVILLE, K.B.E.,
C.B.E., LL.D.

Thursday, March 24th, 1938

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, with the permission of His Honour, it is necessary for us to do a little business before the address. The Constitution calls for the nomination of a Nominating Committee for the Officers for the ensuing year. I will now call for nominations.

MR. CRAWFORD BROWN: Mr. President, Gentlemen, I take pleasure in moving that the following Club members be elected to form the Nominating Committee for the nomination of the Officers of the Executive Committee for the 1938-39 season:

Major G. B. Balfour
Mr. R. H. Fennell
Colonel A. E. Kirkpatrick
Mr. H. Harphan
Mr. Wills Maclachlan
Canon H. F. D. Woodcock,

together with the President and Hon. Secretary-Treasurer as ex-officio members.

MR. HARRY BOURLIER: Seconded the motion.

THE PRESIDENT: If there are no other nominations I declare the nominations closed and these gentlemen elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your Honour, Distinguished Guests, Members of The Empire Club of Canada: We have as our guest-speaker today, Sir Howard d'Egville, who has chosen as his subject "Democracy and World Affairs."

At the Coronation of His Late Majesty, King George V, in 1911, Sir Howard was impressed with the idea of making permanent the various shades of thought and view-

point as expressed by the representatives of the component parts of the Empire by the formation of an organization which, while not having any official standing, would embody the fundamental progressive thought in the ever-changing relations of the various branches. This was the beginning of the Empire Parliamentary Association. The objects of this Association are to bring together the representatives of the legislatures of the whole British Empire for the purpose of exchanging information and visits between members of the Parliaments of the Empire. There are now, I believe, twenty-six overseas branches in different countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The last meeting was in Sydney, Australia, which was attended by Sir Howard recently. This Association seems to me to be an Empire Club of huge proportions and vast possibilities. These years of progressive development while Sir Howard has been Permanent Secretary have given him a knowledge of the problems affecting democracy and the world which few men possess. It is a great honour to introduce to you Sir Howard d'Egville. Sir Howard.

(Applause.)

SIR HOWARD D'EGVILLE: Mr. Chairman, Your Honour and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I feel, Gentlemen, that it is a very great privilege to come before so representative a Club as we have here today. It is a gathering, I think, of men who are studying the questions of the great British Empire and therefore I regard it as a particular privilege to have been invited to be your guest today.

Before I discuss as I propose to do shortly the relation of democracy as we find it today to world affairs, it might perhaps be convenient if I would give you some idea, for those who have not been in the United Kingdom, of the composition of our population and I propose to give you a short description of each.

We have the Welshman who prays on his knees on Sundays and on his friends all the rest of the week. We have the Scotsman who keeps the Sabbath and anything else he can get for nothing. We have the Irishman who

doesn't know what he wants and won't be happy until he gets it. And we have the Englishman who regards himself as a self made man and is always worshipping his maker. (Laughter.)

After that preliminary survey of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, I come to the subject upon which I am to talk to you today. First of all I would like to say that it is a little difficult for one holding the position which I do, which is of a semi-official character, to get expressions of opinion on questions of policy and therefore I am sure you will understand that in anything I say it will be more of an effort to find the solution than to put the problem to you.

Now, perhaps in that direction I may suggest a very urgent necessity. I would propose therefore to glance rather at the big problems that we have facing us where the great dictatorships of the world clash with the interests of the British Empire and to try to determine from that how very urgent and necessary it is for us to have the closest possible understanding of world affairs and the policies of the various countries who may in any way conflict with our interest.

Glancing now at the position of Italy, we have there a country which has very definite Mediterranean ambitions. As you know, Italy is a country with a considerable and vulnerable coast line and without any influence in Spain, Italy would find a great difficulty in maintaining her position in the Mediterranean but, as you know, Italy has taken a considerable part during the Spanish War and it differs from a great deal of other help that has been afforded to one side or the other in that the help given by Italy has been approved, directed and assisted by its own government. Without any influence in Spain, as I say, Italy would have a difficult position in the Mediterranean, but with Spain more or less under the control of the Italian Government, the position in the Mediterranean in so far as Italy is concerned and when I say Italy, it involves her allies, and particularly the German dictation. Now, of

course, Italy has been responsible not only for sending a considerable number of men to help in the Spanish War, to help on the side of General Franco, but she has also sent a great deal of war material and to some extent Italy is not very fully possessed of the war material that she requires. Therefore, anything that has been sent to Spain must of necessity be kept closely under the control of Italy. I deduce from this then, if she wished to withdraw the Italian forces now fighting in Spain it would be very difficult for her to withdraw them at all, at any rate for a considerable time, on account of the raw material which is in Spain at the present moment.

Now, as you know, the Mediterranean is a vital necessity to the British Empire. It is not only a highway to a vast Empire of India, but it is a sea of very essential import when we are considering the naval defense of the whole Empire. Therefore, it is of particular importance that we should do our utmost to understand exactly what the Italian position is, exactly what they are facing and what their ambitions are, and come to some definite understanding as the British Government is now endeavouring to do with the Italian Government.

Now, glancing at the other great ally of Italy, the great country of Germany, we have there a sort of new religion sprung up, where all the forces, interests and ambitions of the young people have been taken from the adherence to any particular dogmas or doctrines or churches and have been devoted to the state. It is a new religion and cannot but be very striking to the visitor to Germany, as I have been on several occasions, and where I was just shortly before I left the United Kingdom for Australia at the end of last year. They have, what I am sorry to say you have not got to a great extent in this country, that is enthusiasm for the affairs of the state by the young people. It is rather disappointing for a visitor to see and I am not attempting any criticism, it is far from me to attempt to criticize anybody in any country of the Empire, but it is a little disappointing to see the lack of interest in public

affairs by both the young men the young women of this country. I have spoken to a great number and I have done the same in Australia and I find that though when I was in Australia eleven years ago there was still less interest on the part of the young people, I do find in Australia that there has been a considerable improvement. The young men and women are not only studying public affairs but they also are getting much younger men into the political arena in parliament. I hope very much and I believe it will be the case that a number of people under, say, thirty, will begin to show some interest in world affairs in view of the great happenings that are occurring in the great countries of Europe because, as I say, in Germany Herr Hitler managed to appeal to the imagination of the younger people and they have an intense enthusiasm for their state and it is extraordinary exhilarating to converse with some of these young men and women who are thoroughly acquainted with the ideas and the positions of their leader and of the men who surround him at the present time.

One of the great directions in which Germany may be said to enter the sphere of activity of the British Empire is in regard to colonial affairs. I have had the opportunity of considering with some of the leaders of thought in Germany their views as to the colonial ambitions of Germany. It is true that a question of prestige does enter into it to a certain extent. It is somewhat galling for a great country like Germany to feel that small countries like Belgium, Portugal, have possessions in their overseas Empire far exceeding their own size and they feel that the clauses in the Versailles Treaty which practically stated that Germany was incapable of holding colonies is an insult which she should not labour under any longer.

Of course there is also the question of economic development overseas and the desire to have within the German right and within the power of the German people a great many raw materials which they find difficult in getting at the present time.

When it is pointed out to them that in the past when they had colonies very few of their people went to live there, their reply is that in a nationalist, socialist Germany the whole position is entirely different, because now they can send their young men to exploit overseas countries in a way that it was quite impossible to do under the old regime. Of course, Germany, owing to the system of internal inflation has made it difficult for business with overseas countries to be maintained. She is now buying certain things from her former colonies and paying very much more than she would if they were under her own control. She is also buying a great deal more than she is selling to them and she complains that the advantages are going to the countries who own colonies.

Though it might be said the interests of Germany might clash with the British Empire in Africa, I think there is a clear understanding among those who are really considering these questions carefully in Germany that they would not expect to go to certain places which are regarded as key positions by the British Empire. I think that generally speaking, throughout Germany there is a clear desire for a better understanding between the countries of the British Empire, and I must confess I know of no country in the world at the present time that will give the Englishman a better reception than the German people. I am only speaking from personal experience.

Now, as regards the position of the two countries, Germany and Italy in regard to Spain, of course the whole idea of their entering into the Spanish conflict was stated to be from the political angle, in order to prevent the spread of Bolshevism, and its possible extension to France. But, of course, notwithstanding that fact we have to face the position that a great deal of what has been accomplished will, in the case of the success of General Franco, put those countries in a far better strategic position than they are at the present time.

Now, with regard to the other great dictatorship, Japan. Here we have a country which, as you know, is mainly

controlled by the military people and we have considerable ambitions of that country in the Pacific area. Considerable feeling is expressed from time to time by the statesmen of Australia and New Zealand with regard to Japanese ambitions in the Pacific, and there is one thing that I found in Australia during my visit which was a very striking thing, that while eleven years ago there were a great many people in Australia, thinking people too, who talked about the possibility of Australia as an independent nation, I found eleven years later, during my visit this year, that hardly ever from any source whatever is that expression made now. It may be owing to a considerable extent to external pressure. It may be and I think it is owing to a certain extent also to the fact that Australia is perfectly free, like every other Dominion to deal with her own affairs and to state her own policy any way she wishes, but the Statute of Westminster has made her absolutely master in her own house and consequently she has thought for herself and come to the conclusion that the best future of the Australian people lies within the British Empire. That is a very striking difference that I found during my visit to Australia. That idea of the possibility of separation has completely disappeared from the mind of the people who are at any rate occupying any responsible position in the Australian Commonwealth.

But we have got to remember, important though the understanding of the ambitions of our nations is, that dictatorships in their very essence mean rapid action. The parliamentary machine, devoted as we are to it, is in many ways slow and I do think that the only method of improving the relations of the countries holding democratic assemblies within them is for them to establish the closest possible association with each other and with the needs of external affairs, so that instead of concentrating as so many do on purely local affairs to the neglect, I think, of foreign affairs, they may be able to lead the people to an understanding of how much the reactions of foreign policy and foreign affairs affect their countries, not only from

the political standpoint but also from the economic standpoint. The world is getting much closer together; increased facilities for travel by air and so on is bringing every nation to the door of every other nation and we cannot afford, if we are going to maintain democracy, for the world to neglect the close study of foreign affairs and the necessity of keeping together in the formation of foreign policy.

We have endeavoured in the Empire Parliamentary Association to which reference was made by your Chairman, to establish methods so that members of the parliaments of the Empire may get together and consider their wider interests in common. The United Kingdom and the great Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, which are the great Commonwealth of Nations, have already, of course, for their governments established a method of consultation by means of the Imperial Conference and in between the meetings of the Imperial Conference there is a very extensive system of information provided for the different Cabinets of the Empire and some, notably the Australian Commonwealth, has an Officer in London who sees all of the Cabinet papers and is able to communicate direct with his Prime Minister on any question that is arising.

There is a real necessity for this closer consultation, not only between the government and Cabinets of the Empire but also between the members of all parties in all parliaments and it was for that exchange of information, as your Chairman has said, an exchange of visits, that the Empire Parliamentary Association was founded. Almost imperceptibly it came to be part of the unwritten Constitution of the Empire in the days following the Great War, when of course the opportunity afforded perhaps more than any other time, not only because of the necessity that was found for that close communication but also because people's minds were at that time precipitate to any new ideas for the closer connection of the countries of the Empire, so it was shortly after that we were enabled to hold con-

ferences which were of essential value to the progress of the Empire. Then, before the end of the war we had a great conference of parliaments, a great tribute to the British fleet, because they were able to come from the four parts of the world to take part in conferences, not only on the war effort, but on the future and it was while the war was still raging that these members of parliament were taken to the front in France, to the Grand Fleet, to the munitions factories, so they saw what the real war effort was, what it meant and what their own men were doing. I well remember myself having the privilege of escorting the Canadian Members of Parliament to the unfortunate town of Ypres during one of the bombardments and I said at the time that I thought as members of the Canadian forces were facing the hostile forces opposed to them, that it was just as important for their Members of Parliament who were representing them to encounter the same dangers. Therefore, we went in during one of the bombardments, luckily without any misfortune.

After the war we had conferences overseas and the Union of South Africa was the first to invite representatives of all the parliaments to meet in their country in the year 1924. This splendid example was soon followed by the Australian Commonwealth which asked for representation in all the parliaments and then, for the first time, the legislature of India was represented in the year 1926, and in the year 1928 all the parliaments of the Empire assembled in Canada. We had our conferences in Ottawa with all the provincial parliaments during that interesting visit. But it was not actually until the year 1935 and 1937 that we were able to carry the idea of what we call the Empire Parliamentary Conference to its full fruition, because then it was we were able to have representatives of all the parliaments, not only the Dominion Parliament of Canada and the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia, but also the state parliaments of Australia and the provincial parliaments of Canada represented, with all the other legislatures, of the empire, including, I may say, the Irish Free State,

who had refused to be present at the Imperial Conference of 1937 but who were present at our Parliamentary Conference.

Therefore, we were able to have an all-party conference on the subjects to be subsequently debated by the Imperial Conference. We all assembled in Westminster Hall, the home of the origin of parliamentary government. Westminster Hall, which was referred to, you remember, by Macaulay, as the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon, the hall where Charles confronted the high court of justice with a passive courage which had half redeemed his fame.

It was extremely interesting for the younger parliaments. Therefore, we had rooms in the hall for their reception every day when they came over. It was very interesting to assemble during the Coronation period to meet George VI, as it were at a revival ceremony, at a luncheon in the great hall of William Rufus. There His Majesty assembled with all the Prime Ministers of the Empire and welcomed not only them but the representatives of all parties taking part in the Empire Parliamentary Conference, from the overseas parliaments and from the House of Commons, and in a sense it was a revival of the ancient custom of the ages, dining in Westminster Hall, but on this occasion there was this great difference. Instead of just welcoming the great men of England he welcomed the great men of the Empire and one of the results of that Conference was that it enabled a Cabinet Minister who was at the head of every parliamentary delegation to take part in the subsequent Imperial Conference of the Governments with a full knowledge of what the members of the different parliaments thought upon the questions of common interest which were being considered by their Cabinets.

In other words, therefore, the Empire Parliamentary Conference is an essential adjunct to the Imperial Conference to ascertain the opinions of the different parties

on subjects of common interest which are being considered by the governments and in this connection I venture to say that foreign affairs and defense were of the most importance, though trade, migration and other matters of course naturally come within their purview.

Now, we have, of course, in the Empire Parliamentary Association, and I would like to mention this because I think it is of great interest from the point of view of exchange of information, we have our methods of extending information pending meetings or conferences or meetings of individual members, through our Journal of Parliaments of the Empire, which gives everything that is happening in every parliament of general interest and special semi-confidential reports every two months on foreign affairs.

Gentlemen, though it may be said that parliamentary government has had a setback in other countries who have not been fitted either by training or by temperament to carry out its behests, I think it may be said that the British Empire countries have progressed under the system of parliamentary government. There have been no revolutions for 300 years in the Old Country, whereas everybody else has often indulged in them or nearly everybody else, and the countries of the British Empire will still find in Parliamentary institutions and in building up that great integrity which has long remained will find, I think together and, I hope, in the closest co-operation some solution of the problem which are now facing a troubled and distracted world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Cody has consented to thank the speaker. Dr. Cody.

DR. H. J. CODY: Your Honour, Mr. President, Sir Howard and Gentlemen: As one who has received many kindnesses at the hand of Sir Howard d'Egville when I have been in old London, it gives me very great pleasure indeed to voice to him your thanks. He has spoken of one method whereby the Empire and its constituent parts may be drawn more closely together. It is a very vital

method of securing unity, unity of the various legislatures of the whole Empire.

We have listened with great interest to his account of the rise of this organization and of the services it can render supplementary to the Imperial Conferences.

I do not know just what to say about the question of the interest of young people in Canada in public affairs. I am sure that that interest might be greater but I am inclined to think that interest is steadily growing. I know in all the universities of the Dominion there are political clubs and many political clubs that very actively discuss the affairs and problems of our own country. I remember before the last general election in Canada the Editors of the University of Toronto daily paper, the *Varsity*, approached me to know whether I would have any objection to their having a straw vote on the election. I said, "Not the slightest, providing you can get out the voters." The most unfortunate thing in all democracies is the lack of interest on the part of the voters as a whole on the problems that come before them. The other day, you noticed, in Edmonton what a small fragment of the electors took part in the actual voting. However, the members of the editorial board said, "If there is not a good and reasonable turnout of voters we will not publish the results." I said, "Remember, the fancy parties always make most noise and if the great body of electors do not turn out you shall not have a true judgment."

You know some people constantly say, "You are all going Communist up at the University of Toronto." There are all sorts of wild and unfounded statements made, and I was very delighted to know what the result was. Over 4,000 men cast their vote. It was a men's vote. Over 4,000 actually cast their vote and 90 per cent. of these voted either Liberal or Liberal-Conservative. I take the liberty of using the old historic name. The remaining 10 per cent. were made of some who, I know for the fun of the thing voted Communist, and some who voted Social Credit and some who voted Reconstructionist and some who

voted C.C.F. But the interesting thing was that the overwhelming majority, 90 per cent. of the undergraduates representing a fair cross section of the youth of this province, voted for one or other of the old man line parties. I was very much relieved and very much reinforced in what I have constantly had to say in answer to attacks that are made upon the fundamental loyalty of our great undergraduate body.

I do put in a plea myself at every Convocation that our young graduates should seek to take an active interest in the public affairs of the country and if they get an opportunity to take it to serve, either in municipal bodies or on school boards, boards of education or as candidates for our legislature and federal parliament, and I am sure that the number of these who are thus serving is steadily increasing.

But the main point that has been emphasized today I would like to emphasize with all the power I can. I think perhaps the British Empire is the greatest secular force in the world today for the welfare of the world. Anything that strengthens it, strengthens the true well-being, the peace, the prosperity, the human civilization and the decency of the world. Therefore, I think that every part of the British Empire should let every other part know and let the Mother country know that we stand together.

(Applause.)

You remember Mr. Kipling's great words:

When the day of Armageddon comes,
Our trust is that our house shall stand together
And the pillars shall not fall.

And in these critical days there is no time or justification for any part of the Empire hesitating, it seems to me, to assure the Motherland and all the other parts that we are a unique political unity and that in all those matters that affect our life we are as one. A united and strong British Empire would be the greatest factor for peace that the world knows today.

Some time ago I saw a cartoon in a Canadian paper that impressed me tremendously. It impressed me especially

because I had been at a meeting where some members of our Dominion Parliament, among others, had been maintaining the thesis that Canada was in no danger from any quarter and Canada therefore should do nothing to defend herself and certainly should do nothing to become, as one of the speakers said, a cog in the military machine of Britain. We were to enjoy all the protection of the British fleet, we were to enjoy the moral protection of the United States of America, but we, self-respecting people who were glorying in the name of nation, were to do nothing for ourselves. An old British statesman happened to come through Canada on his way to Australia and he ventured to say to an audience in this hotel that under the present world conditions and by the development of aerial navigation no country could say it wasn't in danger of potential enemies, and he was a damned "peregrinating Imperialist" who should mind his own affairs. Within a year in our own House of Commons proper measures have been brought forward in connection with the defence of Canada.

Now, Gentlemen, the cartoon I saw was this, and whenever I hear the hymn, "O Canada" sung, I can't help thinking of this cartoon. You know there are these words in the hymn, "O, Canada, we stand on guard for thee," and the "we" is supposed to refer to Canadian citizens. The cartoon represented a stout John Bull on one side and an equally stout Uncle Sam on the other side, and each of these strong gentlemen is holding the hand of a tiny little boy, called Johnny Canuck, who is looking up wistfully, somewhat timidly, to both these strong champions and they, too, are singing, "O, Canada, we stand on guard for thee."

(Applause.)

Now, that represents about as well as anything I have seen the essence of the whole situation. Let us either hold our tongues about being a nation in the Empire and a great nation, or let us not only enjoy the benefits of belonging to this glorious British Empire, but let us be willing to assume some of the responsibilities. We can't have it both ways and retain our own self-respect.

Again, let me in your name thank Sir Howard d'Egville, as an emissary of Imperial unity. A hundred years ago Lord Durham came to Canada to find out why we were in such a perilous and uneasy position and he recommended the adoption of responsible government. The whole modern British Empire is built up upon his recommendations ultimately, but for us Canadians it is something of a pride to know that this problem of uniting a central sovereignty with local autonomy was the first time solved on Canadian soil. All the other self-governing parts of the Empire have followed in our steps and the result has been surely for all self-respecting peoples of the great Dominions a strengthening of the tie that binds us to the Motherland and to one another and a determination that we shall stand for all those things that spiritually make the British Empire—freedom, justice and honour.

With this I close. One of the most thrilling experiences of my own life came to me in the last months of the war when I was overseas. I was invited one night to a dinner at the Ritz Hotel. It was to greet a group of American newspaper men who were visiting the Grand Fleet at the front and the munitions work in Britain. The host was General Smuts. One of the other guests was General Seeley. General Smuts spoke about the issues of the Great War, world freedom, world organization to preserve that freedom, and when the speaking was over, General Seeley arose to move a vote of thanks to the Chairman and he told this story. It was the most marvellous illustration of the talismanic power of freedom as understood by Britain and in the British Empire.

He said, "You know I fought in South Africa and one day we managed to drive a group of Boers over a river. We run a chopper on the other side of the river. I crept forward to make a reconnaissance holding in my hand a rifle I had taken from a dead Boer and a captured Boer was by my side. As we looked over the river the Boer said to me, 'Do you by any chance, sir, happen to be a graduate of the University of Cambridge?' He answered

and said, 'Well, yes, I am a graduate of Cambridge.' The Boer said, 'Well, strangely enough, the Officer in command of this Boer Commando on the other side is also a graduate of Cambridge. Are you by any chance a member of Trinity College, Cambridge?' 'Yes, strangely enough I am a Trinity College man.'

" 'Well', said the Boer, 'So is the Boer Commander a Trinity College man. Are you by any chance a member of the Middle Temple in London, that great society of lawyers?' " General Seeley, with a laugh replied, 'I am.' 'And so is the Boer Commander,' he said, 'and there he is,' as a figure rode out on horseback. General Seeley said, 'I took my rifle and I took a pot-shot at him, and missed him, and because I missed him I am in the extraordinary position tonight of moving a vote of thanks to him for being my host.' " (Applause.)

I thought, there is one of the greatest examples that ever has been known of the power of British freedom. Surely the freedom we possess will not be a motive to lead to isolation to separatism, but a strong power to draw us together for good and truth and right. (Applause.)

BRITISH COLUMBIA AND CONFEDERATION

AN ADDRESS BY HONOURABLE T. D. PATTULLO

Tuesday, April 5th, 1938

THE PRESIDENT: It is a source of gratitude to me to welcome on your behalf and introduce to you the Prime Minister of British Columbia, the Honourable T. D. Pattullo. Several of my predecessors in office have invited Mr. Pattullo to address us but it is my good fortune to reap the reward of their endeavours. The name of Pattullo is so well known to this province that it is strange to introduce one of that name as coming from British Columbia. His career in the West, however, shows that he is a part of that great country. The Yukon in that never to be forgotten year, 1896, knew Pattullo and British Columbia has been guided by him since 1933. From his knowledge of the West and his background of the East he has a right to speak with authority, not only on problems of one section of Canada but as to how they may affect this country as a whole. "British Columbia and Confederation" means much to Canada and the Empire. It is my pleasure and honour to call upon the Prime Minister of British Columbia, the Honourable Mr. Pattullo. (Applause.)

HONOURABLE T. D. PATTULLO: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I appreciate very much the observations and the very kind remarks of the President toward myself and I wish to thank the Club for the invitation extended several times to me to address it and to take luncheon with you. Events have transpired heretofore that have made it impossible. I understand that it is the policy of your Club from time to time to invite men, prominent, temporarily or perhaps permanently, in their respective spheres of en-

deavour to give reasons for the faith that is in them. I am sure that opportunity is appreciated by all who have the pleasure of breaking bread with you.

Now, Mr. President, you spoke of my association with the Province of Ontario. I was brought up as a boy in the most prolific and the banner agricultural county of the Province of Ontario, namely Oxford County. (Unless it is superseded by Middlesex, Mr. Kirby?) I know Oxfordites are of the opinion that Oxford County is the banner agricultural county.

I can well remember, like many boys, reading tales of high adventure and regretting that we lived in a too prosaic age. Nothing seemed to be happening. All the adventures were in the past, there seemed nothing for the future.

I remember also the occasion when the Bell Telephone Company was established between Woodstock and Brantford and while science has been going on over a long period of time, revealing the laws of nature to men making a study of it, with the coming of the telephone everything seemed to be accelerated very much. Since that time surprise after surprise has met us and surprise is always an element of interest.

Science, through discovery and invention has created so many surprises that really we are almost so sophisticated now that nothing would surprise us at all. We would hardly be surprised if we were to be suddenly transported to Mars: the only thing that would surprise us would be if we ever got back.

I am making these observations now, Mr. President, as to the discoveries and inventions made by science because they have a great deal to do with the position of affairs we find ourselves in today. Not only have they changed the mode of living of people the world over but they have actually changed our viewpoint and mental attitude toward living conditions, toward social conditions throughout the length and breadth of the world. They have not only

changed our mode of living but have changed our mental attitude and conception toward questions of morals and religion. If that be so, and it is so, there must be some reason for the disquietude that now exists in some fields of economy. Whether in financial economy or in commercial economy it must mean that financial economy and that commercial economy has not kept pace with science, with its discovery and adventure.

Following the World War we find mankind exhibited right out in the open a primitive instinct which seems to guide him from time to time. I don't know how far the conditions existing in the world today will go in the immediate future in further disruption, which we are suffering from, but I do say this, while science and invention have made the standard of living possible on a higher basis, on the other hand we know this, that the gods of war must be well appeased because the standards of killing have been so much improved. I think that which we are passing through is a part of progressive evolution. Many changes have been occurring in recent years with kaleidoscopic swiftness. We may not thoroughly understand, we may not appreciate all the implications that are involved. Sometimes we are too close to the picture to appreciate it. We do not see the forest for the trees. I believe, notwithstanding the lowering clouds over us at the present time we should not become pessimistic. We should be courageous, not pessimistic. Pessimism never accomplishes anything, pessimism kills, the only thing it ever does create is chaos. Rather, I think the very conditions that exist today should be a challenge to us, to the very best that is in us to see that we preserve an optimistic spirit in the belief that there is a destiny that achieves our end, rough-hewn though it may be.

In Canada, I think, we are indeed fortunate. We are in an enviable position. We have a vast territory with great resources, and a strong and virile people. I doubt if any other country in the world, taken by and large, has a

higher average of intelligence than is found in the Dominion of Canada.

On the other hand, while Canada is in a fortunate position in a physical sense, she has suffered some disabilities. We are fortunately situated in a physical sense ; we are not immediately subject to attack by any foreign power. The reason we are in that fortunate position is that we enjoy the protection of Great Britain and the United States. Were it not for the protection of Great Britain and the United States there is no doubt whatever that we would long since have been exploited by peoples with large populations who have no recourse comparable to ours.

Canada has been suffering and is suffering now from growing pains. We have made wonderful progress but we find the terms laid down by the Fathers of Confederation under which the provinces joined into one confederation of the Dominion of Canada are not now meeting the exigencies which have since occurred, are not meeting the responsibilities placed upon the provinces and which rest also with the Dominion of Canada. We find, therefore, that there must be some remedial measures enacted if we are to adequately and properly meet that situation.

I do hope that not only men in public life but all those who have the opportunity through the press and otherwise will not at this time use language or say things that are going to make the logical outcome more difficult. (Applause.) It is easy to create discord and discussion. I have heard it spread across Canada, in our own provinces, in our press and otherwise, by public statement, that the provinces are too narrow, too insular, too parochial, that they are not taking the broad view of the Dominion of Canada. Let me say this, the provinces are representing their case as they see it in the light of the responsibility which they have under the terms and conditions laid down by the British North America Act. We do not know yet what the position of the Dominion of Canada will be or what attitude it will take. Not all of the evidence has

been heard. I say it would be well if all parties and the people of Canada generally would withhold any judgment and withhold harsh criticism until they hear the whole story. He who answers the question before he heareth it, it is a folly and a shame unto him.

As a consequence of the conditions existing, the Dominion Government has appointed a Commission to investigate various phases of our economic life, particularly the financial relationships between the Provinces and the Dominion.

As you know during recent years several Dominion-Provincial conferences have been held in Ottawa. I had the advantage of attending all those conferences. It was evident from those conferences that the provinces had not sufficient information of each other, nor of the Dominion; nor had the Dominion sufficient information of the provinces to enable the Dominion to come to conclusions, that is decisive conclusions. I think it is well, therefore, that the Dominion Government did so appoint this Commission.

I may say, so far as British Columbia was concerned, we have always felt, since the province joined in confederation that the terms under which we entered confederation were not just. During all this long period of time we have been continually making representations to Ottawa in respect thereto. In the recent conference in Ottawa British Columbia made representations to the Dominion Government, insisting that a Royal Commission should be appointed to investigate the special claims of British Columbia in Canada. Subsequently there came a movement across Canada that there should be a general investigation as to the relationships existing between the provinces and the Dominion. British Columbia agreed to that but this Commission now functioning did in Victoria announce publicly that it was authorized or instructed by the Dominion Government to hear the special claims of British Columbia as well as to hear the broad general

question, the larger question of the relationship of the provinces to the Dominion.

So when we proceed to Ottawa, as we will following the report of the Royal Commission—as a matter of fact I asked Chief Justice Rowell, Chairman of the Commission—we are to meet all the provinces before this Commission with the Dominion Government itself, when they may have a free-for-all. Following that, let me say there will be beyond question a conference of the provinces and the Dominion because this Commission can only advise, it cannot determine. It can only advise and it remains for the provinces and the Dominion to get together.

Let me say this, unless we approach this question in a spirit of tolerance and mutual good will, it will not be a success. It is not a question of what each one should get, but of what each one should have, including the Dominion Government itself. Unless we approach on that basis it will never be a success. (Applause.)

I appreciate the opportunity to speak here today the more because of the fact that I think that British Columbia, generally speaking, understands the East better than the East understands British Columbia, and it is natural that that should be so. So many of us come from the eastern provinces, all the way from Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, all the way across Canada, and settled in British Columbia. We know the eastern provinces, we know their mental attitude toward questions, and we know British Columbia. On the other hand, with regard to Easterners, men in public life, men interested in business life and some tourists come to British Columbia. They go through so hurriedly, particularly the tourists, that they cannot possibly be expected to understand the Province of British Columbia. I want to thank the President who has suggested that perhaps I may be able to speak with some authority.

British Columbia is in the same position as the Dominion of Canada, so far as our resources are concerned

—minerals in our mountains, timber in the hills, fertility in the soil, fish in the sea, game in abundance, lake, river and mountain scenery unsurpassed on the face of the globe, salubrious climate, strategic position for rail and water transportation. In fact it seems if Nature had been any more beneficent to British Columbia she would have done an injustice to the rest of the world. We may therefore start the premises that our resources are of a character capable of supporting a very much larger population than we have at present.

Notwithstanding our great resources we have, not due to man's stupidity, but due to his frailness or weakness or non understanding, been subjected to artificial restrictions which have not worked to our benefit.

British Columbia did not enter into Confederation in 1867 but in 1871. Since that time it has always been felt in British Columbia that the terms of union were more onerous than they should have been. I do not need to go into the details with respect to them. The basis of the per capita grant then given has not been considered equitable and subsequent events have so transpired as to aggravate the disabilities from which British Columbia has suffered. Were it not for the fact that British Columbia is the rich country it is, it would probably have succumbed under some of the disabilities frail man has put upon it.

Now, that British Columbia has not been fairly treated has been evidenced by the fact that as recently as 1934 the Dominion Government, headed by the Right Honourable Mr. Bennett, after the submission of a brief to that Government, was sufficiently impressed with the justice of our claim that an annual interim payment of \$750,000 was added to the per capita grant and subventions of \$875,000 which we had previously received, until the whole question was heard. When you consider that the amount we were receiving was \$875,000 and the Bennett Government gave an additional \$750,000, it is evident we made out a prima facie case. Subsequently the Honourable Mr.

Bennett said, and it was so reported in Hansard, that including the amount of \$750,000 British Columbia would be left in a little better position than the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, but considerably less than some of the other provinces of the Dominion of Canada.

Now, you know when the provinces entered Confederation they surrendered to the Dominion the customs and excise, the total tariff went to the Dominion. The provinces, in lieu of that were given this per capita grant. What was it for? It was for the purpose of enabling the provinces to carry on the functions of government, such as education, social services, administration of justice and so on.

So far as British Columbia was concerned, we found the amount we were receiving to carry out these functions was about one-tenth of the cost of those services.

I am not going to quote many figures today. I am going to show you the total amount of money received from 1871 until the year 1936-37 from the Dominion Government, with respect to the capital grant I am speaking about, was a little short of \$33,000,000. How much do you think the Dominion collected through British Columbia for customs and excise? \$478,000,000. And we received back \$33,000,000.

So we present our case and suggest that the terms of the British North America Act are now working a hardship on our province. Surely no one will think of coming down and adopting a narrow, insular attitude, in spite of the facts, in order to maintain the integrity of our province. That the Fathers of Confederation anticipated something of the kind would occur is evidenced by many of the statements made by public men at the time of Confederation. Sir A. T. Galt made this observation: "It must be evident to everyone that some portion of the resources thus placed at the disposal of the General Government must in some form or other be available to supply the hiatus that would

otherwise take place between the sources of local revenue and the demands of local expenditure."

Even at that time they anticipated some changes, so the B.N.A. is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unchangeable, but should be changed in order to meet conditions as they exist today.

When the changes are made three changes should take place. One is, so far as human language can, it should be put in such a form that it won't have to go from court to court, guessing as to what the intention of the law is, but that it shall be clearly defined. There shall be placed certain responsibilities upon the Dominion authorities, certain responsibilities in which the Federal authorities and the Provincial Authorities must collaborate and co-operate if we are to carry the necessary public functions required by our people from one end of Canada to the other.

Now, speaking of some artificial handicaps to which we are subjected. I wonder if it is safe to mention the provinces of Ontario and Quebec in matters of tariff and freight rates? I am not going to attack the tariff, nor am I going to attack freight rates. We are glad the central provinces are prosperous. The stronger you are the more it will help us because we are the Pacific bulwark of the great Dominion of Canada. But you know and I know, in respect to the tariff, it so happens by reason of your physical situation here you are getting the head start and having the large population, you get the benefit here from the tariff which the outlying portions do not.

I am going to assume, for argument's sake, you have a perfect tariff—I don't admit it—and the freight rate structure is perfectly sound. We will admit that for argument's sake. What I want to point out is the incidence of tariff affecting British Columbia and which affects comparably the Maritimes, and in ratio the Prairie Provinces. Would it surprise you to know that we have an adverse provincial trade balance between the province of British Columbia and Ontario and Quebec of \$50,000,000 a year. A \$50,000,000 a year adverse trade balance.

When I represented that to what we call the Royal Commission, the Chairman said, "Why didn't you present that argument in your 1934 presentation at Ottawa?" I said, "The reason we didn't present it was because we hadn't the information. We went to our Doctor of Economics and found what was the situation."

I pointed out and I want to point out to this gathering that information was not gathered over a period of time for the purpose of building up a case against the rest of the Dominion or these two provinces. It was purely incidental. It came about in this way. We created an Economic Council and put a very eminent Counsel at its head. I said to him, "Doctor, I would like you to go out and find with what countries we are doing business, in what goods and in what quantities. Is there any manner in which we can extend the trade of British Columbia. Also, are there any countries we are not doing business with which we should be doing business with?"

After a year or two of investigation we found to our surprise—we were not thinking of comparing Ontario and Quebec—that we have an adverse trade balance between these two provinces and British Columbia of \$50,000,000 a year.

I have always found in public life and it is good in any other sphere of endeavour, that it is wise to try to put yourself on the other side of your own desk and see if you can't get the other fellow's viewpoint as well as your own. I believe in this way you will be better able to appraise the ability of your own viewpoint.

In Ontario you have four or five times our population. Let us assume you have had an adverse trade balance in favour of British Columbia, say four times our population, of \$200,000,000 a year. Let us assume an adverse trade balance of \$200,000,000 a year against you in favour of British Columbia. And \$200,000,000 a year would be quite a sum of money, even for the rich Province of Ontario.

Now, you ask, where do we get the money to pay the \$50,000,000? I will tell you where. We get it by going out and being good commercial travellers, good drummers, we go out and do business with the rest of the world. We are peculiarly dependent on off-shore trade. We have got to sell our timber, we have got to sell our minerals, we have got to sell our fish, we have got to sell our furs, we have got to sell large quantities of agricultural products. We must sell in off-shore trade. We have gone out and drummed up business to the extent that in the last year for which I have figures we had a favourable balance with all the world, including the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, of \$12,000,000. So, by going out and drumming up business elsewhere we have been able to meet our obligations as we have always done and as we are going to do in the Province of British Columbia. We are going to meet our obligations.

Take, for example, our position in the automobile trade. The automobile industry is very valuable to the Province of Ontario when you think that on the automobile running presently on the roads and streets of British Columbia we have paid \$35,000,000 more, by reason of the tariff. We could go across the line to Seattle and buy for that much less. It is quite an item, all told, since the automobiles have been running. There has been paid \$100,000,000 of bonus to the automobile industry. We are not finding fault with that. What I say is this, that being the case, there ought to be some compensatory measures for those provinces which suffer most or benefit least as a result of the tariff, and I suggested this to the Commission, and they put the question, "How are you going to arrive at figures of dollars and cents?" I said, "It is very difficult. You can at least come to a conclusion as to which benefits most from tariffs and in the per capita, because in the total aggregate it amounts to comparatively little, if they do in effect now and then make recommendations to the various provinces, they may well take into considera-

tion the incidence or effect of the tariff on the freight rate structure as effecting the provinces. Naturally, we would get a little higher than we get at the present time, and it is only fair that should be done.

Now, let me see—I want to refer to the Income Tax. The reason I refer to the Income Tax is this. We were in the income tax field in 1876. Not until after the war did the Dominion enter that field. It was a very comfortable field for us. After the war, Sir Thomas White, then Minister of Finance, and well known to you all here, made the statement that he regretted very much to have to introduce that measure into Parliament, but he was compelled to do so, though he expressed the view that the measure was temporary and he recognized the primary right of the provinces. Why wouldn't it be when the only means of raising taxes placed at their disposal under the terms of the B.N.A. was the income tax? So the Dominion Government entered the field and everybody believes they are there for good.

I use the metaphor. Here in British Columbia we have a well stocked larder. Someone, very powerful, comes into our pantry, seizes the pantry and begins to push us out and some people suggest he is an interloper. That is an imposition. What are we going to do?

Do you know that the Dominion Government collects more income tax today in British Columbia than we collect? Were it not for the fact that the Dominion Government is in the income tax field we would not have had to go to Ottawa to borrow a single dollar. To increase the present Provincial Income Tax, with the Dominion Government in the Income Tax field, would be altogether too heavy upon our people and we have not increased the income tax in British Columbia. How can that continue indefinitely when we are forced to go and borrow money from the Dominion Government because they invaded that particular field? We recognize the exigencies that occurred at that time but the government being in control

of banking and credit, surely the responsibility devolves more on the Dominion Government than on our Province to evolve ways and means to meet that very difficult situation.

To those who say there should be one Income Tax in Canada and that should go to the Dominion, I say I want to know where we are going to get our other revenue, because, as I say, we borrow money from the Dominion Government and pay interest. We pay it too. We don't pile up or compound it, we just pay it. There is a gentleman right in this room—he knows, because we keep paying him too.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you will say, how are we going to adjust this matter. You will recall the Province of the Dominion, and British Columbia was primarily responsible for the fact, introduced into the House a resolution suggesting that the B.N.A. should be changed so the Provinces had the right of the Sales Tax. We don't like it, but we have to do something. Finally, the resolution passed the Commons, but the good old Senate threw it out and we are back in the position we were, namely, we have the Income Tax, but not sufficient to meet all of our need, particularly on account of unemployment relief. When you think if that field of our taxation had not been invaded we wouldn't have had to borrow a single dollar today, you understand how we feel about it.

Now, we have this problem of unemployment and it is certainly a very difficult problem. We think everybody thinks his troubles are worse than the other fellow's. We find that a large number of transients are coming to British Columbia. They keep on following until they get to the Pacific Ocean and they can't go any further, and, in the second place, we have a very salubrious climate. The result if we have many people coming in. The younger men come in and pick up the jobs and the older residents are placed on relief. From the prairie provinces they have been trekking in on account of the visitations of nature,

particularly from Saskatchewan they have come into British Columbia and our population now, I should imagine, is about 800,000. They present a very serious problem at the present time. At a later date when they get on their feet they will be an asset; at the present time they create these great difficulties.

I am afraid this unemployment is permanently with us. There was a time when friends or relatives took care of those out of work and not able to take care of themselves. That day is gone and unemployment is definitely on the doorstep of government. Fathers and mothers don't want to support children and children don't want to support fathers and mothers. We know that from actual and practical experience today. They want to depend on governments.

We have seasonal occupations in British Columbia. Timber is seasonal, outside of milling; mining is seasonal outside of the mines on a permanent producing basis; fishing is seasonal; trapping is seasonal; so much is seasonal. What formerly happened was that those engaged in occupations made enough money to tide them over the time they were out of employment. That doesn't happen now. Today it is, eat, drink and be merry, tomorrow we go on relief.

I made a suggestion and I still stick with it. That is, if the government must intervene, not in a crazy programme of public works, but in a reasonable, sane and sensible programme, I see no reason why they should not do so. Our own Dominion Government the last three or four years has been collaborating with us on highways and so forth, for the advantage of tourists and so forth. That is very advantageous. I still think they ought to have a more expansive programme. I don't know what Ottawa is going to do for the coming year but I am going down tonight to try and find out. I want to say this, we are not going down to mulct the government out of money. If anyone mulcts that government out of money—(Laughter)—I

don't mean that particular government, I mean any Dominion Government! We are not going to do that, but with the many thing that are required, I call them necessities, in addition to the tremendous number so desirable, there is less reason for unemployment in the Dominion of Canada than in any other place I know of. (Applause.)

Let me just recite this, too. You know when the returned men came back from the front, 36,000 came to British Columbia, promptly demanding that they should be rehabilitated in the Province of British Columbia. We undertook all kinds of projects, some of which I recommended myself. There was a housing programme in conjunction with the Dominion Government, land development schemes and so forth. One scheme in particular I, myself, recommended, and it cost three and a quarter millions of dollars. More than I wanted it to cost. We will never get that money back in the treasury. How many people do you think are on that project today? There are 4,000 and it is one of the most prosperous sections of British Columbia. We got a run for our money. It is better than having men lying around the cities. It is true they are keeping body and soul together. That little district is helping to solve that adverse trade balance of \$50,000,000 from the Province of Ontario and Quebec. I say that seriously. We import everything from these provinces.

I want to point out another thing, too. Let us reason as to why we are in the position we are. You know the amount of money that was spent on railways in the railway era. Millions were spent on the railways in anticipation of an increase of population and an increase of business and concurrently, comparable billions have been spent by private endeavour. There was a constant stream of immigration anywhere from 75,000 to 400,000 a year. Now, what do we find? The railways are spending almost nothing. For many years there has not been a cessation of immigration, trade is cut in half, and then you wonder at unemployment.

I want to pay tribute to private endeavour so far as British Columbia is concerned, because it has co-operated to the full with the Government. We know of many instances where private companies kept on more men than they required to carry on business, simply to alleviate that situation and co-operate with the Government in meeting that problem. When that has been done by private endeavour what other means is there than through governmental services? If anybody has any sleight-of-hand knowledge of how to do it I would like to hear it.

I wanted for a minute to say something about the North. I took too much time in the beginning talking about something perhaps not quite so consequential. You have heard of the Yukon Territory, a large territory with about 40,000 people formerly but now with only about 5,000 about 2,500 of which are white. Last year an agreement was reached between the Dominion and our Province under which Yukon will be included within the boundaries of British Columbia. It will be better for administration there and will present a greater opportunity to develop that territory.

Alaska, too, is going ahead by leaps and bounds. \$25,000,000 came out last year in gold, more than ever before. The United States Government is taking special interest in the development of Alaska, for various reasons. Several parties are going in this year. Three geological and two typographical, or vice versa. They are going in to open up that country. The United States is intensely anxious that there shall be a road built through British Columbia in order to connect the United States with Alaska. Whether for sentimental reasons, business reasons, or any other reasons, I know positively the United States people want it. I know the Government of the United States wants it; it is no secret. I think we ought to help that proposal along. It will cost quite a few million dollars. It means that during the next few years millions of dollars will be spent, not only in opening up the road but

in supplying stations and road houses and so forth, the people going in to develop along the line of the railway. I say we would like the sympathy of the East in that respect. All the food required during construction, all the clothes they will wear, the implements and machinery and so forth will have to be sent in. Where will most of it come from? From the Province of my friend here, Mr. Kirby, the Province of Ontario. I say from the business standpoint it will pay the people to support us in our contention and our great desire. Why shouldn't we co-operate with the United States, the friendly nation of the south? They are on both sides of us. Give them access through the Dominion of Canada, from their territory of Alaska to the United States—especially as it will benefit ourselves.

I have no understanding with the Dominion Government in what I am saying now, but I have just officially, without and discussion, asked them to also extend the boundaries of British Columbia to include the Mackenzie Basin, including the 120th meridian, the boundary line between Alberta and British Columbia. I have rolled down the map and I am not going to roll it up until I can roll it up to the Arctic. That means an immense development.

I was speaking about the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. When it was built, by reason of agreement between the Grand Trunk Railway and the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. Prince Rupert was to be the terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, even though the outlet was at Vancouver. The Canadian Northern had its outlet at Vancouver. The agreement between the Pacific Great Eastern Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific was that all destined for the Port of Vancouver would come down by the Grand Trunk Pacific, and all destined for the Port of Vancouver would come down by the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, which runs north and south to the Port of Vancouver. Now, with the amalgamation of the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Northern and the Intercolonial, and two or three dozen small

lines into the Canadian National Railways, that agreement was nullified by reason of the fact, so determined by those in authority, that hundreds of miles of rail were taken up along the Grand Trunk Pacific which paralleled the Canadian Northern line for a considerable distance.

Now, all traffic originating in Eastern Canada is routed over the Canadian Northern section. We say there is a moral obligation on behalf of the Canadian National to take over the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. Recently our Government made recommendation to the Royal Commission that the line should be taken over by agreement under joint operation of the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific Railways. We say that the two great railways should also extend that line to the Peace River Country. It is a wonderful country. There is a chance for the manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec to sell millions of dollars of products. There is the gold mining in the Cariboo Country, millions of feet of timber and Dominion geological examinations and actual drilling operations indicate that possibilities of discovering oil are of a most favourable character. I, myself, have had the opportunity of drilling, not actually to get oil but for determining the structure in the Peace River Country, and we anticipate on the British Columbia side that there is every possibility and every probability that we will have a field just as valuable as the Turner Valley in Alberta. Isn't that business worth while going after? I am showing you where you can spend your money and get returns for it.

Gentlemen, I have a whole lot here and only two minutes to go. I am very sorry I rambled along.

I want to say in closing, we have been accused in British Columbia of going too far in social legislation. We don't think we have gone too far. I know I told the people when the Government was elected in 1933, wherever precedent was good we would follow it, where it was bad we would throw it overboard, jettison it. We think we have moved just about right, a little faster than the rest of the Dominion

of Canada. We are getting on, our revenues this year are bigger than ever in our history. We have a surplus of two or three million dollars on ordinary operating account. We are paying every dollar. We are not going to repudiate anything. We are encouraging capital to come in. When capital comes in, I assure you, to use a colloquialism, we are going to give it a run for its money. We encourage private endeavour, and we are getting away as far as possible from the unemployment situation which is tearing Canada from one end to the other.

In conclusion, may I say this, we live in the shadow of the cataclysm of war. At one time in the dance halls of Great Britain they were singing: "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too." So aroused did the militaristic spirit become that the Government had to intervene and advise the dance halls to no longer sing the military air. Today there is not the jingoistic spirit in Great Britain, yet never before have they been so determined. I understand they are going ahead at a rate never known before in the history of Great Britain, arming to meet present day conditions. Nobody likes it, it is there. What are we going to do in Canada? Do you think if there is a world war that we are going to keep out of it? You will find the whole North American Continent will be driven into it. On land and sea, in the air, Canada must do its share in proportion to its capacity. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. So far as British Columbia is concerned, we stand behind the Canadian Government in a broad programme of National Defense for the preservation of our country and the integrity of the Empire.

(Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Pattullo, we are indeed grateful to you, Sir, for your address and in thanking you we are not unmindful of what your presence here today means to you in your busy life. You have told us much of great interest that will long be remembered by us and we hope

that the free-for-all will be successful in the solving of Canada's problems.

On behalf of The Empire Club of Canada and your vast coast-to-coast radio audience, I thank you most sincerely.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Applause.)

THE HANDWRITING ON PARLIAMENT'S WALL

AN ADDRESS BY MR. NORMAN M. MACLEOD

Thursday, April 21st, 1938

MR. H. C. BOURLIER presided, and spoke as follows:

A week from today, that is April 28th, will be the last regular and the annual meeting of the Empire Club.

(Introducing the speaker) The time: the year 1273 B.C. The place: Banquet Hall of King Belshazzar, the last of the Chaldean dynasty. The Handwriting on the Wall. Those of you who are Bible students will recall "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin." That phenomena has come down to us through the ages, some three thousand years, and has served as a common symbol for mankind. It is even being used today by our speaker as part of his subject—Mr. Norman MacLeod, prominent in the public eye as a journalist and as a writer, having been with the Mail & Empire in Toronto originally and subsequently with the Press Gallery at Ottawa, of which he is a past president. In that capacity he has had first hand opportunity of studying the machinery of government at close range, and I am sure his address to us today on the handwriting on Parliament's wall will be one of great interest.

I now take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Norman MacLeod. (Applause.)

MR. NORMAN MACLEOD: Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: I thank you for the kindness of your remarks and the warmth of your welcome that suggests perhaps an old saying, that "an individual"—I refrain from calling myself a prophet—"is without honor in his own country" is not altogether correct. Although I have been away from Toronto for a number of years, I still think of it instinc-

tively as my home, and I still feel like signing myself from Toronto in hotel registers.

It is unnecessary for me to acknowledge how I value the invitation to address you. The Empire Club of Canada is one of the outstanding institutions which contribute to Toronto's proud reputation as one of the most Imperialistic cities in the entire British Commonwealth. The privilege of speaking to such an organization is indeed very great.

At the same time, I am humbly sensible of the fact that I am only a substitute speaker—and a very poor substitute at that—for the distinguished individual who was scheduled to fill this engagement. But for an unfortunate indisposition, the Honourable Mr. G. Howard Ferguson was to have addressed you today. I sympathize sincerely with your disappointment at his inability to be with you. Mr. Ferguson of Ontario is one of my earliest memories as a political journalist. I came to know him intimately. And to know him was to come under the spell of his personality. Later I visited London during his term as High Commissioner. And it was no surprise to me to learn at first hand the high position which he attained in the regard of the British public. I do not think the name of Canada has ever stood higher in the heart of Empire than it did when he was its custodian. He is a great Imperialist and this club could have no more appropriate guest. I am sure we all hope for his speedy convalescence so that he can be heard at a date not too far in the future. I mention the fact that I am a substitute speaker from an ulterior motive in the hope that it may possibly prepare some sort of an alibi for my performance. The time of preparation was very short, and I have prepared a manuscript that it may be necessary for me to follow rather closely. In Parliament many of the Members find it necessary to read speeches, which is strictly against the rules of the House, and occasionally when some Member wants to be particularly nasty towards an apponent, he gets up and complains that "the Honourable Member is reading his speech." Well if the Honourable Member is sufficiently an old-timer

to know the ropes he replies to Mr. Speaker that he is using full notes, and as the word of a Member of Parliament has to be accepted in the Chamber, that explanation is accepted. If I have to use full notes today, I hope I may be pardoned.

The other thought I have is that in establishing a case, you are usually more extravagant and there are always exceptions which prove the rule that you are trying to lay down, and if I am at all dogmatic today I would not want it thought that I was speaking without the knowledge that there are notable exceptions to the general truth of the picture that I wish to give.

And so, Mr. Chairman, with these preliminaries I might simply say that it is rather a typical politician's revenge against a newspaperman to ask him to make a speech at any time. It is rather a turning of the tables with a vengeance, so to speak. For a newspaperman—particularly a political newspaperman—is only too prone to be critical of the utterances of public men. In fancied security himself, he treats their inspired words of wisdom with anything but the reverence they merit. Well, if retribution occasionally overtakes him and he finds himself in the position of requiring from others the charity and tolerance that he himself so rarely shows, surely it is only one of the very small indications which go to show that, after all, an inscrutable justice does operate in this world.

Only, if I did suspect that there was any motive of some politician as at all responsible for my invitation to appear here today, I would be somewhat at a loss to know in which of the major political parties I should look for my persecutor. For to be an effective political journalist and not to have become a thorn in the side of all political parties at some time or other is a contradiction in terms. And occasionally it is necessary to be indifferent to the reactions of both parties at the same time to what one writes.

For instance: a few weeks ago the Parliamentary Press Gallery had the Prime Minister as our guest at luncheon. In making a few introductory remarks in my capacity as

then President, I alluded to the present Government's fondness for naming Royal Commissions and also to Mr. King's known zeal for the cause of democratic government. I suggested jocularly that the two things might very well be combined by naming the Press Gallery members as a Royal Commission to tour the dictatorship countries of Europe and send back articles to their papers which would cause the Canadian people to value the democracy under which they live. In his reply, the Prime Minister said that if I myself would accept such a commission—and a one-way ticket to execute it—the Government would be pleased to entertain the suggestion. (Amusement.) So much for Mr. King's and the Liberals' attitude towards myself. And not sufficiently crushed by that, on my way back from the luncheon to the Parliament Buildings, I met Mr. R. B. Bennett, and if I recall his greeting correctly, it was: "Good afternoon. Are you still trying to wreck the Conservative Party?"

Well, Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that I am unlikely to retrieve my position in the good graces of either party by the remarks that I propose to make here today. For I have chosen as my subject "The Handwriting on Parliament's Wall." And that is bound to be an unpopular topic with the politicians. The obvious inference is that all is not well with Parliament. And the prevailing opinion amongst the politicians is that this is a suggestion which should never be raised in public. Their reasoning is that in times of uncertainty such as the present, nothing would be said which might cast the slightest doubt on the supreme perfection of our governmental institutions or on the efficiency with which they are functioning. It is possible that even some of you gentlemen subscribe to that view.

For myself, I must admit that I do not subscribe to such an attitude. It seems to me that if unrest and uncertainty are abroad in the land, they are simply the symptoms of some defects in the institutions under which we are operating. The remedy, surely, is not to ignore the symptoms, but to try and diagnose the disease.

Sometimes, however, one cannot help wondering at the sublime faith—or is it snugness—manifested by some of the complacent interests so strongly entrenched in our public life and in our old-line political parties today. The solution of unrest, they are satisfied, is either to ignore it, or to pin some derogatory label branding it as fanaticism upon it! and, above all, to insist that the malcontents are only a noisy minority, that the basic conditions under which the people are living were more sound, and that the leadership which they are being given towards a nobler and fuller life was never drawn more directly from the fountain-head of wisdom itself. I could put this idea more tersely perhaps, if not so as inoffensively, if I said that there is a brave—or desperate—disposition on the part of the politicians now entrenched in the old-line parties to be ostriches and to bury their heads in the sands. Well, we recall the Czarists in Russia once attempted to be ostriches and to ignore conditions instead of remedying them. We all know what happened as a result. And more recently our old-line political parties insisted upon being ostriches out in Alberta. And we know, too, what the consequence has been there.

Therefore I contend that the only way to deal with facts is to face them. As a preliminary to facing them, it is necessary that they should be understood. And as a preliminary to understanding them, it is essential that they should be considered and canvassed from all sides in public discussions.

But what, you ask, are the facts? That brings me at once to my home. For the facts are the Handwriting on the Wall of Parliament today.

What I will suggest during the next few moments and endeavour to support with some argument can be summed up broadly as follows: That the democratic National legislature of this Dominion, which is the House of Commons, is undergoing and has been undergoing for some time a process of progressive weakening; that it has largely lost touch with realities in the nation; that it is floundering in a morass between New Deal ideas which it does not

understand and facts of industry and finance which it refuses to face; that because of its own indecision, it is failing to give authoritative leadership to the people; and, finally, that it is beset by a determination to see no fault in itself, a determination which causes it to attribute the unrest manifest throughout the nation to the fanaticism of the discontented, rather than to its own failure.

Such a thesis may seem a little devastating when stated thus baldly. Therefore I deem it proper to anticipate my conclusions a little by stating at this point that I see no cause for discouragement. Our difficulties at the present moment are unquestionably great. But they are difficulties of our own making. And what we have made, we can unmake. There is only one real danger I can see that besets us today. That is the danger that we will continue as we have been doing, blinking facts instead of recognizing them, and allowing our politicians to take the line of greatest comfort and least resistance to themselves, instead of insisting that they give the nation the leadership that it needs if it is to breast times like these and achieve the new heights of greatness for itself and the fuller life for its people that we all want to see.

In developing my theme, I propose to discuss first the progressive weakening of the Commons Chamber to which I have already alluded. To establish my point I ask you to think back over a term of years which are but few as the life of a nation is reckoned. I ask you to think of a House of former days not so long ago, a House in which the following individuals were not Cabinet Ministers but ordinary private Members. I refer to such figures as W. F. Nickle, K.C. of Kingston; Dr. Michael Clarke of Red Deer; Mr. Andrew McMaster; Mr. R. B. Bennett of Calgary; Mr. Ernest Lapointe of Quebec; Dr. W. J. Edwards of Frontenac; Mr. Arthur Meighen; Mr. Henri Bourassa; Mr. Armand Lavergne. I ask you, where among the private Members of the House of Commons today do you find the equal of these men? The fact that many of them were men with whose views you may have disagreed is beside

the question. The point is that they were men of character who stamped their character upon the Chamber. They believed in the two-Party system it is true, but they were not Party hacks, and they were not of the stuff out of which rubber-stamp legislators are made. Can you imagine a party whip telling W. F. Nickle that he must vote for the party regardless of a conviction he strongly held? Can you imagine a party whip going to Mr. R. B. Bennett and telling him that it is too bad, but he must make up his mind all over again so as to conform to the Party view? Conceivably you can imagine these things. And you can also imagine the reception the Party Whip would get. I venture to suggest none of you would envy him his mission.

And so I say that one phase of the Handwriting on the Wall of Parliament is the changed status of the Private Member. His independence is largely vanishing. His calibre is, generally speaking, deteriorating. In the present House of Commons it is a sorry fact that once you leave the Ministry, the party leaders, and their immediate lieutenants, you plunge into a sea of mediocrity, with only a few islands of real ability to dot it. There are no Michael Clarke's; there are no W. F. Nickle's; there are no Dr. Edward's; there are no Armand Lavergne's. And, as I have said, whether you agreed with their views or not, these were men of personality, and their like has not been replaced.

I leave this point to return to it in a moment. Just here I want to deal with another phase of parliament too, to which I referred in my earlier summary. That is the unreality of its debates. I ask you to consider this thought: I speak to you today. If my argument convinces you, you will agree with me, and you will admit your agreement. Consequently it cannot be said that we meet here to no purpose. My time is not wasted in speaking to you; and your time need not be wholly wasted in listening to me. But, consider this other situation: Imagine a chamber in which talk is wholly futile so far as influencing the decision on the subject that is under discussion is concerned.

And imagine debates proceeding in such a chamber day after day, night after night. Now I ask you if that makes sense, or does it serve any national purpose? An Opposition member might utter words of the most profound wisdom. He might be given the tongue of men and of angels with which to speak, but he would have the same chance of influencing that chamber that Mr. Earl Rowe would have of persuading Mr. Mitchell F. Hepburn to resign today in his favour. Where, then, is the reality in all this endless, costly debate? And what is the justification for it?

Just before the House recessed for Easter, it debated unemployment. Now if ever there was a vital subject to the people of the Dominion, and if ever there was a subject in which thousands of Canadians had a direct, bread-and-butter interest, surely that was it. But did that discussion, which lasted for so many sittings, have the effect of creating a single new job for a single Canadian? I challenge anyone to show that it did. Where, then, was its reality? And what was its justification? What other justification could it have had then that out of it emerged some plans which would mean increased employment for the people? No such plans emerged. The Ministry's program was the same at the end of that debate as it was when it opened.

The fact of the matter is this: that no argument in the House of Commons is competent to modify or thwart a program or a bill upon which the Ministry has made up its mind. The best of reasons may be urged against the government's policy. But if the government decides that for the sake of expediency, its program must go through—it may be the building of a Hudson Bay railway—the party whip is simply cracked and the matter is ended. Party discipline does the rest.

Now in the United States Congress and Senate the situation is different. We all remember the mighty Franklin D. Roosevelt—he was then at the height of his prestige—deciding that he was prepared to co-operate with this country in the development of the St. Lawrence. We remember

him submitting the treaty which had been negotiated to the Senate, and we remember that it was flatly rejected. Then last year the President determined to change the Constitution of the United States Supreme Court. Once again his program was thwarted by the legislature. And more recently still,—indeed only a few days ago—Mr. Roosevelt met an even more crushing defeat when the legislature killed his Re-organization bill, which was to have been one of the major measures of the administration.

These things simply could not happen in our national legislature. As a body it is too subservient to the government. Yet I am convinced by my years of Press Gallery observation of this one fact more than any other, namely, that Canadian democracy faces no greater problem to-day than the vanishing independence of the private member of Parliament and the accompanying growth of party discipline within the Commons Chamber. If the trend is to continue further, it means at the very best that Canada will soon have but the empty forms of democracy, with all the disadvantages that any system of popular government necessarily entails, and that we will have in fact an actual dictatorship, without any of the advantages—inadequate though they be—that lie in totalitarian government.

For this is the stage which we have already reached: we have a House of Commons, the members of which are elected directly by the people. The members delegate the authority with which the people invest them to a small committee known as the Cabinet. In many cases the Cabinet delegates the authority which originates with the people one step further and vests it in an independent commission. And so the work of government is carried on. And from the moment he enters the Commons your average private member ceases to be the powerful individual that he was when campaigning for the franchises of the people of his home constituency. He delegates his authority and his personality alike to the glorious end that he

may become a faithful party hack—a rubber-stamp legislator.

Now, there must be some reason for the almost total disappearance of the old-time private member of parliament, whose passing has meant that Parliament itself has lost much of its old reality. Personally, I do not think we need look far for the explanation. The mistake we have made in Canada has been to make politics a minor profession with financial possibilities attractive to individuals of mediocre abilities. A man enters the House of Commons. He is paid \$4,000 a year. Perhaps that remuneration is not excessive when election expenses are considered. But at least it is a sustaining emolument. And after a man has been in Parliament a few terms he may hope for appointment to the Senate with \$4,000 a year for life, with no election expenses. Or he may hope for an appointment to a remunerative civil service post, once again with no election expenses and the prospect of a comfortable pension after a certain period of time. I went through the Parliamentary Guide the other evening, just picking out the Members of Parliament from 1930 to 1935 who had not faced the electors afterwards but had found haven either in the Senate or in the public service. The percentage on the Conservative side was upwards of 25%, that is to say, I have forgotten the exact percent but out of 132 there were I think 38 members who had succeeded in earning their reward. Well those who succeeded were only a fraction of those who tried. (Amusement.)

And I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it is this practice which has grown up, in recent years particularly, of filling senatorial and senior civil appointments from the ranks of the House of Commons that has debauched our parliamentary life and sapped the independence of our elected legislators. For these appointments go only to members against whose record in support of their party there stands not a single black mark of irregularity. They are the "plums" which are finally handed out to rubber-stamp legislators as their reward.

Now I do not advocate the adoption of the American system. In my opinion its disadvantages as a whole more than outweigh its advantages when compared to our system. But I do submit that on this point it can teach us a valuable lesson. Under the American system the individual member of Congress has little to hope for by way of reward and less to fear by way of punishment from asserting his independence against the Executive. He has no Senatorial sinecure to work towards. He need expect no remunerative civil service appointment. The greatest reward to which he can aspire is re-election. In other words, to serve himself he must go serve the people that they will be anxious to re-elect him for his worth to them.

Fortunately it is not necessary for us to adopt the United States system in order to possess ourselves of a similar advantage in our own administration. If we were sufficiently convinced of its importance we could achieve the same end by three simple changes in our parliamentary practices. In the first place, I wonder if the time is not opportune for us to seriously consider restoring the parliamentary indemnity to its old level of a reasonable honorarium of \$2,500. The theory back of the increase to \$4,000 was a worthy one. It was intended that it should make zeal for public service, not private means, the qualification for public life. Unfortunately the change has not worked out that way and we might as well acknowledge it. The \$4,000 indemnity has brought no influx of financially poor but able men into public life. It has simply made parliamentary membership one more of the small business careers that a person of mediocre abilities may pursue, in the hope that it will lead ultimately to a life appointment with a reasonably comfortable income.

The second change that I suggest is that the power of Senatorial appointment be taken from the government. And at the same time a Senatorship should be made for a term of years, instead of being a life job. A time inevitably comes to every man when he is no longer physically or mentally competent to carry out the duties of a legis-

lator. It is unfair to the country to have him carrying on after he reaches that condition. We all recall that at various times the Liberal Party has advocated Senate Reform. I believe the country is wondering why it delays action. I am confident Canadians generally, while they believe in the two-chamber system as a check upon hasty and ill-considered legislation, are of the opinion that the present Senate is wholly archaic in its constitution. The cause of Senate reform, I am satisfied, is sound. And the time for action is opportune. For Senate reform, if undertaken in the present unsatisfactory state of affairs, could be made a long step towards reform of the House of Commons at the same time, if appointment to the Upper Chamber were eliminated as the reward for rubber-stamp servitude on the part of members of the Lower House. The problem is not difficult. Many alternative plans of appointment have been suggested at different times. For example: appointment of the Senators by the provinces concerned.

Then there is a final step that I suggest should be taken in the interest of a more vigorous, vital and independent House of Commons; that is a provision making a Member of it ineligible for appointment to a position in the Federal Civil Service until he has ceased to be a member for a period of at least five years.

Through the changes I have suggested runs this principle: that a man should only enter public life because he desires to render public service; and that while in public life the incentive before him should not be even partially a senatorial or a civil service appointment, but wholly the incentive of serving the people. Surely, if this motive could be instilled in every member to the exclusion of any other, Parliament would become what it is intended to be, namely, an assemblage of the best political minds of the nation intent on devising by joint deliberations solutions for the various problems that beset the national weal.

So much for the private members of the House of Commons. And now for the Cabinet Ministers who sit on the

treasury benches. What do they contribute to the handwriting on Parliament's wall?

I suggested at the outset of my remarks that the criticisms to which successive ministries since the war have been vulnerable has been their failure to give leadership to the country. You may say that this is a sweeping assertion which needs to be proven. I will prove it by giving only one illustration. If the governments of the past had been giving bold courageous leadership, would the railway problem of this country have been allowed to develop? And if the government was giving bold courageous leadership to-day, would the problem be allowed to exist?

I believe though it is inevitable that our Governments—and I include both political parties impartially—should have failed in the task of leadership. For to give leadership requires convictions and confidence in those convictions. But it is several years now since any ministry has held an unshaken conviction upon any of the major problems of our modern complicated economic world. Our governments have been oscillating between two schools of thought. On the one hand, they have had the uneasy feeling that two and two still make four even in the realm of present-day economics. But against this instinct there have been the showy pretensions of the New Dealers to unsettle them. Our governments have been told by the New Dealers that the old economics are out-moded. They have been told not only that this is the age of abundance, but also that it is the age of credit, the age of the promise to pay. They have been told that there is no longer any virtue or salvation in the economics of Micawber. You will remember what they were: "Income twenty pounds, expenditure nineteen pounds six pence, result: happiness; but income twenty pounds, expenditure twenty pounds six pence, result: misery." Our governments have been told, in short, that this is the age of economic legerdemain, that the promise to pay is the open sesame to the abundant life, if only this generation will recognize it and stop being old-

fashioned, and stop talking about income meeting outgo, and about balanced budgets.

And so our governments have capitulated against their instinctive better judgment. They have worked the promise to pay day and night. They have made it almost their sole stock in trade. By means of it they have kept a government-owned railway running on a scale that costs the country close to one million dollars per week. By means of it they have built up a vested interest in idleness which last year, despite the fact that almost all the economic indices stood high above the normal level represented by 1926, cost the various governments of the Dominion far in excess of \$50,000,000. And by means of it they have been sentimentalizing—for purpose of political expediency only—over a program of so-called social reform.

What has been the result? Governmental deficits mounting at an average over the past seven years more than one hundred million dollars per year. Increasing debt charges. An ever greater proportion of the national income being diverted from productive purposes to the demands of taxation. Consequently, an insoluble problem of unemployment. I ask you to note the viciously mounting spiral: taxes steadily increasing and staggering industry; unemployment refusing to yield to quack political remedies. It is probable that back in 1933 we were not so far away from a serious break-down in our domestic economy. Then relief came to us in the form of a revival of foreign trade and an influx of purchasing power from other countries. But did we use the respite given us to set our house in order? Did we cease our exploitation of the promise to pay? You all know that we did not. With prosperity coming to us in spite of ourselves, we did not turn aside from our stubborn, headlong course of trying to borrow our way back to greater prosperity.

A few months ago it looked as though we were going to be called upon to pay for our folly. A business recession overtook our most important foreign customer. Our trade suffered. We appeared headed into another depression.

Happily, that danger seems past for the present. British armament expenditures and other prospective developments in the international picture seem destined to assure us a period of industrial activity which, while we do not want to be over-optimistic, may even surpass 1929. We are being given a second chance to set our house in order after a bad scare. Gentlemen, we may not be given a third chance!

The cardinal sin of the promise to pay is its hypocrisy. It seeks to conceal from the people the fact that they must pay ultimately for the things that are done in its name. Instead, the politicians take the credit smugly to themselves. They talk of relief as something that they have given, of Hudson Bay Railways as something that they have built, of New Welland and Chambley Canals as works that have been conjured up like the rabbits out of a magician's hat. They do not tell the people who are working that it is they who are keeping the rest of the population that is being maintained in idleness. They do not impress upon the tax-payers that they must accept ultimately the burden of extravagant public works. They do not tell the unemployed that governmental deficits mean heavier taxation on business and less purchasing power for the employment of labour.

The politicians admit none of these things. Instead, upon the foundation of their hypocrisy they proceed to erect a wholly infamous superstructure of unrest. They sentimentalize over the so-called forgotten man. They tell him that he is the victim of heartless big business. They tell him that he should have minimum wages, shorter hours of work, unemployment insurance, an earlier old age pension, and the benefit of state medicine. They tell him, in short, that heaven is just ahead of him because the politicians are going to crusade against business, his oppressor.

Could anything be more utter demagoguery than such an appeal? My first rejection of it is on the ground that it is a legislative program designed to meet the needs of

a race of economic failures. Gentlemen, are Canadians failures? Do we as individuals have to lean upon some paternalistic government almost from our cradle to our grave? If we do, I submit we are not the men our forefathers were who hewed this great Dominion out of the wilderness, who performed what Mr. Bennett has so eloquently described as "the matchless miracle of a people so few, working against difficulties so great, in a time so brief."

My second reason for rejecting this program is that it is economically unsound. These services that it is proposed to give have to be paid for. So far we have been paying for them simply by borrowing against the future, forging fetters of debt for future generations. Leave that phase of the question aside for the moment and consider simply what governmental paternalism means as an economic principle. It means the halting of the processes of natural compensating adjustments upon which our modern economic system depends if it is to function. For instance, the old virtue of contending against the buffetings of fate, of breasting the waves of adversity to reach the shore of success, is a thing of the past. Why should we strive against fate while relief maintains us? I maintain that the effect of relief has been to remove the mainspring of individual initiative. Thus the farm boy who goes to the city when factories are busy and times are good, does not return to the farm when industry slackens. He stays in the city on relief, or he goes to some works project provided for employment purposes at the public expense. Thus the situation is prevented from adjusting itself. It is aggravated and prolonged. And, as I said a moment ago, it is paid for by forging fetters of debt for future generations.

The vital question in this latter connection is whether future generations will wear those fetters. Will they honour the commitments rolling up into the hundreds of millions that a small group of politicians are making in the name of the nation? Will they consider themselves bound by these obligations? Gentlemen, that is a question that will

not be decided in any terms of abstract ethics or legal argument, but in terms of human realism. And there is no matter which those interests who are concerned with stability in this country should view with greater thought than this problem of the ultimate attitude of the people to the debt burden that the politicians are creating.

But, to revert to my main theme once more: it is the unrest stirred up by so-called promises of the New Dealers and their campaign against business that makes their agitation so indefensible.

The politicians take the tar brush to industry and tell the workers that from this operation they may expect Utopia to result. Now, I appeal to the actual experience of the Canadian workers and to you gentlemen of industry who are listening to me today. I ask the workers whether their past experience with the promises of politicians has been such as to persuade them to entrust their private lives into their hands? Have the workers ever known the fulfilment of politicians' promises to even approximate the promises themselves? And I ask you gentlemen in industry to search your conscience and ask yourself if Canadian business is really the callous and selfish institution that the politicians represent it to be?

For my part, I believe the industrial workers and farmers of this country have learned from hard experience to beware of the flimsiness of politicians' promises. We have been playing the game of the "ins" and the "outs" in politics too long for it to be otherwise.

On the other hand, I believe that the outstanding fact of Canadian business over the past score of years has been the steady development of conscience on the part of those who direct it. As Canadian business has prospered, it has shared its prosperity with its workers. That is proven by our Canadian standard of living. And in its period of depression Canadian business wrote a glorious chapter in its annals by the manner in which it recognized its responsibility to its dependents regardless of current profits and even

in many cases at the cost of reserves built up in prosperous years.

Yet the politicians, to serve their own interests, continue to make false promises of Utopia to the country's workers. And their only stock-in-trade as a means of fulfilment continues to be the promise to pay.

What is the inevitable goal? It is this: it is a revolt against parliament which has already taken place in three great provinces of the Dominion. I wonder how many of you have considered this fact: that the three men who—whether or not you agree with their views—are most in the eyes of the people of this country, are not in our Federal Parliament at all, but outside it. I refer to Premiers Duplessis, Hepburn and Aberhart.

Gentlemen, it is a serious situation when provincial leaders whose main appeal is their promise to substitute their own actions for the Federal Parliament's inaction spring up on every side. It is a more serious situation when they meet such whole-hearted acclaim. It is a warning sign that something is amiss somewhere. The Federal politicians—in their complacency or in their desperation—would have us believe that the fault lies with these insurgent movements. They speak of Messrs. Duplessis, Hepburn and Aberhart, as "challenging Confederation" and they ask us to become alarmed.

What is the truth? The truth is I submit, that the people of these provinces have become disgusted over the failure of the National Parliament to give national leadership. They have seen successive governments bankrupt of every resource except a facility in using the country's credit. They have watched solemn commitments in the name of the nation rolling up by the hundreds of millions. They have seen taxes rising steadily, the burden of debt growing ever heavier. Is it any wonder that revolt has come? I say emphatically that it is the Parliament at Ottawa—drifting steadily towards a goal of ever more burdensome debt—which in the final analysis must accept the responsibility for Social Credit. I say it is the Parliament at Ottawa—

failing to recognize Communism in the criminal code—which in the final analysis must accept responsibility for the Duplessis padlock law. I say it is the Parliament at Ottawa—with its failure to recognize financial realities—which in the final analysis is responsible for the enthusiasm for Mr. Hepburn and his realistic policy, whatever may be his faults, of balancing the province's budget. I maintain, in short, this proposition: that Messrs. Duplessis, Hepburn and Aberhart are not a challenge to Confederation; but they are a challenge to our national legislature, a legislature that is failing to give national leadership.

My remarks have already been too long. I have made two suggestions. I have proposed that we work to restore the character and independence of our national legislature. And I have proposed that we abandon that school of national economics which is based upon the promise to pay. But, you may object, in these proposals you are failing to promise the people of the country a new heaven and a new earth. I admit that; but instead we are promising them something that it will be actually in our power to deliver. I suggest that it may not be inadvisable to experiment with a few political promises of this novel character.

MR. H. C. BOURLIER: Gentlemen, after listening to Mr. MacLeod, you will perhaps be inclined to agree that my reference to the handwriting on the wall at the feast of Belshazzar was not altogether untimely. There is just one thing, however: I am sure you will endorse my hope that the nemesis which overtook the Babylonian Government after that famous feast may be far removed from the ultimate destiny of our own government here.

Mr. MacLeod, you have given us a tremendous volume of informative matter in a very concise way. We will have plenty of material to think over and we only wish that the limitations of time did not prevent your giving us your solution for these grievances in a more detailed manner.

We thank you sincerely for your address.

(Applause.)

LIFE AND MEDICAL WORK ON THE LABRADOR

AN ADDRESS BY DR. C. HOGARTH FORSYTH

Thursday, April 28th, 1938

PRESIDENT HARCOURT: Mr. Pratt, Past Presidents and Gentlemen: We have been thrilled in the past by Dr. Grenfell's characteristic sincerity and modesty as he unfolded the story of the beginning and the development of the work of his mission up and down the Labrador in an effort to bring help and relief, temporal, physical and spiritual to the sparsely settled district of that wild, bleak and forbidding shore. As the work grew and developed we were amazed at the manifold problems which the mission was called upon to solve. For some years now our guest-speaker, Dr. Forsyth, has borne a large part of the responsibility and has relieved Sir Wilfred of many of his arduous tasks. Of recent years much of the administration has been in the able and devoted hands of Dr. Forsyth. When your President endeavoured to acquire a more personal and close-up view of Dr. Forsyth, he was told, "Wait until you meet the man." Without further words from me, I now introduce Members of The Empire Club of Canada to a knight of what might be called modern chivalry. His motto can be truly said to be, "Service, not Self." Dr. Forsyth. (Applause.)

DR. C. HOGARTH FORSYTH: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Last year a patient came to my hands from the northern part of Labrador. He was a young man who in the autumn of the year went trapping. The previous year he had got his things ready at the end of September to go into that wilderness of a country, a distance of 150 miles or more to go to his traps. A week before he

left he had felt a nagging pain in the lower part of his back. He attributed it to rheumatism and didn't allow it to trouble him unduly. He collected his things and set off into the country, part of the way by canoe, but the last twenty miles had to be portaged. By late fall he came to that part of the country he intended to trap. He worked along his trap lines for the next two or three weeks and he found that his back was getting steadily worse and worse. Finally he had to give up his work and he decided to try and get back to his settlement which was the nearest piece of civilization. He set out but he didn't get very far. He struggled on for a day or two before he realized that he could never make it.

He had to do something. He knew that other trappers would shortly be coming out of the country and he knew the path by which they came. "Path" was the word he used but it seems a poor word to indicate something trodden by two people, perhaps twice a year and it was only a trapper's instinct that took him to one of the so-called paths. He found it and there he pitched his tent and managed to cut a little wood to keep him going, because the freeze-up had come by that time. He waited for help to come. Sure enough within two days two trappers came, hauling a toboggan, piled up with furs, their stoves and provisions. When they saw the plight their fellow was in they wasted no time discussing alternative methods of procedure. They dumped their furs there and cached them, although they knew they would have to give up a month or so later to come in and bring them out, and the much-needed money they get from the sale of their furs had to be postponed. They put the sick man on their toboggan and started to haul him out. I can leave you to imagine what the man suffered during the next few days, bumping over a rocky road on a little flat toboggan, on a path covered with the first layer of snow. After a time he said, "Put me off and leave me here to die." He couldn't stand it any longer. They pitched a tent, cut enough

wood to last a few days and they, themselves, hastened out to the settlement. That night they had to sleep without a tent and had a blizzard come on they would probably have lost their lives. They got to the settlement and told their story. A dog team was immediately sent to the nursing station, 30 miles away, to get the nurse and another team left early next morning to go and bring the man out. He was found and brought out to the settlement, by which time the nurse who had to battle against a blizzard the whole thirty miles to the settlement, was there waiting. She saw that he was indeed a very sick man and as soon as she could she took him to her station. He was subsequently transferred to the hospital where he was X-rayed and found to have tuberculosis of the spine. He was in the hospital for nearly a year and he greatly improved. I have heard that he has been back on the trap lines this winter, working as well as ever he did before.

This story illustrates something of the caliber of the Labrador people themselves and something of the degree to which they rely on the service that Sir Wilfred Grenfell has built up among them.

The Newfoundland Labrador is the Atlantic seaboard of Northern Quebec. It is the seaboard of that big tract of unexplored, unexploited and uninhabited land, half a million square miles in area, lying between Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, and the Atlantic Ocean, a land probably more behind in exploitation than any other part of the Dominion. Only a slice belongs to Newfoundland. The rest lies within the Province of Quebec. The interior is uninhabited except for a few wandering bands of Indians. The coast line was originally populated by the Esquimaux, but 150 years ago settlers came from England, attracted by the furs and fish and settled upon the southern part of the coast. They intermarried with the Esquimaux and the rest of the Esquimaux within a very short time disappeared from that part of the coast and took up quarters in the

northern part. For centuries before this the Labrador coast itself had been a rendezvous for fishing vessels from Newfoundland and in the old days they came from Europe to fish in those waters, so prolific in the summer time.

The Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen in England apparently heard something of the fishing fleets on the Labrador coast. They became interested some 45 years ago and asked one of their staff, a young doctor, named Wilfred Grenfell, if he would sail across in the spring of the year and advise on conditions there. He fitted out a 75-ton ketch and himself skippered it across the Atlantic with a picked crew. He describes his arrival upon the coast one fine morning in June in the year 1892. Just after dawn he came on deck to find the sunlight glinting off the peaks of innumerable icebergs and far ahead rising out of the sea an archipelago of barren rocky islands stretching on either side as far as eye could see. As he approached he could see the hills of the mainland rising and receding in the distance.

Wilfred Grenfell's little vessel sailed along and dropped anchor among a big fleet of schooners lying at anchor there and was the cause of instant stir and interest. They immediately put their dories over the side and the excited fishermen came rowing across to find where this strange vessel came from. When they found that a doctor was on board they lost no time in giving him work to do for it was the first time a doctor had been seen on the Labrador coast.

With that beginning he sailed up and down the Labrador coast that summer, visiting various fleets and in the autumn he returned to England to report. The result was that within a year two small summer hospitals were built on outlying islands, two hundred miles apart. This service was mainly to the fleets of schooners that came north in the summer time. They are a viking race of men, who individually strip the forests to build great schooners in the winter months and then sail them to the Labrador a-fishing. They build schooners up to 140 and 150 tons

in size. The whole thing is usually a family affair. One family builds a schooner and sails to the Labrador waters. Among this fraternity lay Grenfell's first work, and for them the first hospitals were built.

Very soon he found that he was only touching the fringes of a much greater problem. He made the acquaintance of the Labrador folk themselves over the whole 600 miles of the Labrador coast, and he visited the people on both sides of that long peninsula which points northward out of Newfoundland like a great index finger. He found a scattered people living along over a thousand miles of iron bound coast, a people without education, without schools, without medical services, doctors or nurses, and who lived by a peculiar feudal system that must have been a survival from medieval times. They never touched money from year's end to year's end. They fished and trapped and gave the products of their catches to merchants from the St. Lawrence for a little food and clothing. Just enough to keep them going, not much more.

To Grenfell they were a challenge to take up and to set to work to build up an organization to give these people what they needed, and year by year a hospital would be built here, and a nursing station there, and later there came boarding schools. Besides that there has been a sort of social service scheme in the form of, for one thing, clothing. These people had to pay a tremendous price for clothing because there is an import duty on all clothing to Newfoundland of about fifty per cent. By the time it was freighted to the northern part the price soared further still. Most of the people were only half clad, as most of them are only half fed.

Then, too, they were encouraged in handicrafts and by the handicrafts they could help pay for some of the clothing sent to the coast. It was early realized that it is a fatal thing to give anything to people of that primitive type. They must be encouraged to pay in some form or other for everything. They were encouraged to pay for medical

service, for clothing, in fish and fire-wood that we needed from them. It was a sort of co-operative principle between us and them.

For example, two summers ago I was trying to build up a dog team at my station at St. Mary's River. I wanted to get as pure huskies as I could, which were only to be found on the northern part of the Labrador coast. Two small girls came to the hospital to have their tonsils out and I discovered that their father had one of the best teams away to the north. That was my chance and when they went home they took a little letter back to their father, telling him that I had taken the two children's tonsils out and asking if he thought four tonsils were worth a couple of pups. Apparently he must have considered each tonsil worth a pup. He obviously hadn't four pups so he sent two full grown dogs which at the present day are the best dogs in my team. In that way we get co-operation, we get something from them for most everything.

In the north of Newfoundland in that long finger I mentioned before, the population is the most dense of all the district we serve. There in 1927 the culmination of Sir Wilfred Grenfell's work found fruit in the building of a large hospital of about eighty beds, a fine concrete building erected at Saint Anthony at the northern tip of Newfoundland. Some thought it was over elaborate and over big for the work it had to do. This has been amply disproved because last summer the hospital had 110 or 120 patients when the coastal steamer arrived. The coastal steamer is our ambulance, there are no roads and transport is solely by the sea. The steamer arrives and patient after patient is unloaded on the wharf, some on stretchers, some able to walk, some on crutches. A total of 72 patients was brought ashore from that ship and they had to find room for them in the already overcrowded hospital. The steamer itself would not be returning for another two weeks. The sick ones were placed in hospital and the rest were placed around, some on mattresses in other buildings,

some were boarded out in the town and so on. They managed it. In the summer months that hospital was about as full as it well could be.

Upon the Labrador coast we face a different problem. There is a long coast line, 600 miles on the Newfoundland side and 600 miles on the Canadian side. That is looked after by three doctors and three nurses in stations separate from the hospitals. There is a hospital, then 150 miles of coast, then a nursing station and another 150 miles to the hospital and so on. On the Newfoundland side there are two doctors, one beside myself. The older doctor has been there 25 years. He knows the coast like a book and it is a complicated coast too. There are a thousand rocky islands and tens of thousands of rivers. He sails the coast every summer in hospital ships bringing patients to the hospitals and he visits the fleet as Sir Wilfred did in passing by. I remain back in the local hospital and take all the patients he may bring in and deal with the local patients for 150 miles each way. The summer is a busy time. All the fishers from Newfoundland are upon the Labrador coast.

Besides the hospital, the station which is the same as most of the others on the Labrador coast, has a small farm, cows, poultry and gardens, it has a store, and it also has a boarding school. All the Labrador stations have these boarding schools. There are three of them and they serve a very definite purpose. The people of Labrador dwelling in the larger settlements are a splendid, resourceful, pioneering type of people who make the most of all the resources in hand. In between the settlements there are long stretches of 150 miles of coast where one finds conditions that are unbelievably primitive. There, families have dwelt in complete isolation, one, two or three families together, for more than a hundred years and the result has been a steadily increasing form of mental and moral degeneration with each successive generation, a form of degeneration in which no improvement can be found by going after

the actual adults. I think that was tried for a time and it is only in the last ten or fifteen years that schools have been opened and they have discovered the real way to tackle the problem. These people live in tiny one-room shacks, about ten by twelve feet, and which in winter you can often see the daylight through the walls. It would be only half an hour's work to stuff up the walls and keep warm inside, but so far have the people gone from the usual human standards that they don't seem to worry.

I saw a remarkable house once. From the outside it looked as though it had partially fallen over one way but it hadn't completely collapsed. When I went inside I was surprised to find quite a different state of affairs. The obvious deduction was that when the man was building this ten by twelve foot shack, he got the four corner posts up and boarded up one side when a wind storm came and thrust it off the vertical a matter of about twenty or thirty degrees. Any sane person at that point would have taken out his corner post and rebuilt. Not this man. He went on and finished the outside. When it came to doing the inside he put shelves parallel with the ground and when you went into the house it was rather like entering a witch's cabin in one of Grimm's fairy tales. There was everything at a different angle to everything else on the inside. It was the craziest dwelling I ever saw.

That the people have definite possibilities is shown by a remarkable thing that happened last winter. There was a very severe dog sickness upon the coast and from December until May these people have relied entirely upon dog teams for getting around. There are no roads, navigation is closed. They have to go sometimes eighty miles for supplies, to hospital and so on. When the dog sickness struck them they were in a very awkward position. I saw people haul heavy dog sleds, sometimes a man and his wife leaving the children at home would go seventy and eighty miles to get provisions and haul them back again. A most gruelling task. One man, presumably a little clev-

erer than the rest had an ingenious idea. I first heard of it on the coast eighty miles away and soon found that it was the talk of the coast. He had decided that the best way to get around would be to have a form of hand-operated snowmobile. The man had never learned to read or write, nor had he seen any magazines or pictures. However, he had seen an aeroplane and he knew how to handle a motor boat engine and he knew what a propeller looked like. He put one and one together. He built up a wooden framework on his dog sled and on this he mounted a propeller, two and a half feet long, a very fair imitation of an aeroplane propeller. He first had a handle working the propeller but he found he couldn't get much speed turning that around. The deductive principle got to work and he built up a system of cog wheels. He had to carve cog wheels out of the only thing on hand, spruce wood. He had the system of cog wheels and the wooden handle made out of spruce and wooden axles and wooden bearings. When he would turn his handle his propeller would go around about six times as fast as the handle did. With that he thought he was going to get along pretty good. Long before he got the snow boat on the harbour the story was around that he was cruising along at thirty miles an hour. I found it hard to believe. When I came along I went to see it and found that he hadn't got very far. When he started to turn the handle the soft wooden cogs slipped out. He was trying to get a set of iron cogs and by turning the handle around he was going to go down the coast at a tremendous speed, far in excess of what dog teams can do.

In a way it is the children we are trying to get hold of. We get them out of the homes as young as we can, at five or six years old, and we take them to the boarding schools and keep them there until they are about fifteen. They are fed well and clothed well and they are taught useful things. The boys are taught the fishing craft, carpentering, farming. The girls are taught home crafts and

household ideas, besides learning the three R's. At the end of ten years of a life like that they will be suitably prepared for better things back in the little settlement and they are not content to slip back to the shiftlessness of the existence of their fathers. They want something better and they set out to get it and they do, because it is open to any man to work and make the kind of living he likes according to how he works.

One small boy, aged eleven, last year built a small rowing boat, and a very good one too. It was a ten-foot boat and he rowed it around the harbour. Later he thought a row boat was not quite the thing. He was possibly a few months older and thought he ought to have a motor boat. Where was he to get an engine. That was the problem. He fitted a complete engine house to the boat. I came along one day, and I saw the boat, it was a perfect imitation of one of the fishermen's motor boats. I thought to myself, "This young fellow won't have an engine house on the back of the boat unless he has an engine in it." I knew him well enough for that. I looked inside and hanging from the roof by a piece of string was the works out of an old alarm clock. I suppose with that he was satisfied.

Last spring, my wife, having a 60-foot trout net that she had used in a nursing station to get her dogs food with, but not having time to work it, asked this boy if he would fish it for her and work on a share plan, she to supply the net and he to fish it, and halve the proceeds. He was all for it. The small lad took the great net and he would go out and haul it twice a day and bring the trout to the hospital. He would say, "Here, Mrs. Forsyth is your half, and here is my half. I want you to buy it from me." That was something she hadn't calculated on. However, the patients benefitted in the hospital and they had plenty of trout to eat.

All through the summer months the coast is cruised in hospital ships and we work in the hospitals. When the

autumn and winter come around we all go back to Newfoundland, and there is a smaller population. We travel the coast by dog team, starting early in December, the doctor covering about 300 miles of coast line and the nurses doing the same. The nurses in the nursing stations have to be very reliable people and very independent. Theirs is very frequently a pretty tough proposition.

Two years ago a nurse was called to a place fifteen miles away, a man was said to have injured himself. She arrived and found him in his house literally swimming in a pool of blood. He had been out in the woods, his axe had slipped and he had driven it into his thigh and severed one of the main blood vessels. The nurse knew she must act; no time to send for the doctor who was a day or two's journey away. She unpacked her bag, rapidly laid out her few simple nursing instruments, ligated the blood vessel and stitched up the wound. She gave the man restoratives and stood by the rest of the day until the shock had passed off and she thought it was safe to leave him. Then she went back to her nursing station.

Then another time she may find a man with acute appendicitis. She can't deal with that. She has to get the man to hospital. I have known them travelling by dog team all day, looking after the patient all night on the road three days at a time and getting their patient to the hospital, staying there one night in hospital, being relieved of responsibility of looking after the patient, having a night's good sleep and back on the road, back to their lonely nursing station to look after their people once again. They do big cruises in the winter time and visit from house to house as do the doctors. The doctors cover the whole coast, each man to his own district. In the autumn of the year things are often very difficult, getting to stations or to hospitals.

There was a time three years ago when I was walking back from seeing a case with a small bag strapped on my back with my medical things. I was putting into a settle-

ment for the night and I came to a small house where a boy had acute appendicitis. He had had it for four days. They had tried to contact me and hadn't succeeded. Naturally, I hadn't the equipment to operate here. I had been off seeing a medical case and it became imperative to get the boy to the hospital. I went to the father and I told him that the boy's only hope was to get him to hospital. He made a wry face and went out to discuss it with the other men. They said if the only chance of saving the boy's life was to get him to the hospital that they would get him there. That was late at night. The next morning I saw the problem we were up against. The settlement was at the bottom of a mile long arm of the sea. The arm was frozen over with young ice which would not bear, but through which no boat could proceed. The shores were lined by dense woods right down to the water's edge. They made a box, put mattress and bedding in it, put the boy in it, and with long poles lashed on each side four men took hold of the box to carry it. All the rest of the men, sixteen of them, went ahead with their axes and cleared a little narrow path. They cut the trees out of the way until they had a path where there was enough room to get the ambulance through the woods to the edge of the ice. Luckily at this point they had a motor boat hauled up and they were able to put off in the water. They got the boy around to the boat and put him in. By that time there was a lot of soft ice, slob ice that had drifted in and pinned the boat to the shore. Still they were not beaten. They got a long rope on the boat and all sixteen men hauled on it and gradually they pulled the boat clear of the slob ice and were able to get down to the settlement where the hospital was and the boy was taken in and operated on.

In the winter time, as I said, from December we have to do all our travelling by dog team. A year ago I had the job of breaking in a dog team. I think this is one of the most maddening tasks that can befall anyone. Our

dogs are all Esquimaux or three-quarters Esquimaux. They are driven in Esquimaux fashion, in teams of from six to twelve dogs, which means that each dog is on a separate trace and it certainly gives them lots of freedom, but makes a great deal safer driving. I set to work, helped by my wife, to break in all the dogs we had. We took one dog at a time and would get him used to the idea of hauling a sled and keeping more or less on a trail. Then we would put a second in behind and then a third and so on. Then by the time we had worked up to six or seven—these are still in a rather early stage—we usually start on a trial run on the harbour ice. We get all the dogs harnessed up and call for them to go. In the ordinary way they should leap forward and tear off down the trail. That is what a good team does. This team of beginners is quite different. The first one ambles ahead all right. The second one probably lies down. The third turns around and runs back toward home. The fourth one lies down. The last one runs to the end of his trace, then turns around and pulls; harness and all comes off over his head and away he scoots, clear away. There is only one way to cure a dog of this kind as I found after different experiences. One takes a piece of twine and ties it to his tail and then to the back of his harness. The next time he starts to skip his harness he starts slipping his tail too. They very soon learn because it is an uncomfortable sensation, apparently. By January I had the team broken in and able to work all winter.

One winter when I was on a routine trip along the coast the other doctor was out and I was covering his district. I was visiting and I came to a small house, a little twelve foot shack, about ninety miles from any hospital. When I was once inside I found a girl lying on a mattress, on a floor with a bandage around her head. On enquiry I found her people old and sickly and practically out of food in the house. This girl was the only really satisfactory member of the family who could do anything. She

had been out tending to her rabbit traps. She had slung on her shoulder a loaded rifle on the chance of shooting a partridge, and bending over a trap the rifle had discharged and the bullet had gone through her head. Her people went out and found her and carried her in and put her on the floor and had left her there to die. And they were a little astonished that the doctor they thought was 200 miles away happened in the next day and with him the Minister of the district. He was coming along, acting as my pilot. I was travelling over new ground. We had two other men—we usually travel in pairs. We set the men to work to make a long, low box in which to put the patient. The parson gave the girl an anaesthetic and I cleaned up her head as best I could and we set out for hospital. As soon as we had started we realized that every time we went over a bump the girl suffered intensely and shrieked with pain. After some experimentation we solved the problem. We found that human hands make a good shock absorber and so one of the men had to sit behind her and cup his hands and lift her head clear of the pillow. As happens frequently, we ran into bad weather that delayed us. It was not until nine at night on the third day that we arrived at North West River, after having walked since early morning on snow-shoes ahead of the dogs to break trail in the deep snow. We arrived at the hospital and it was a very poor outlook, I think you will agree, for a girl of eighteen, half starved, and with a septic wound in the head and three days of hard bumping travel. I could only stay five days. I had to get back to my own hospital 200 miles away, as it was near the spring breakup. I didn't think there was very much hope, though in time I heard she had pulled around and had been given a job in the hospital and was doing good work.

The Labrador people are a very strong race and they seem able to pull through anything. In fact I have never yet given up hope of saving anybody. I have seen people

inconceivably near death and yet pull around all right in a way the people never would outside.

This is a glimpse of the work in one Labrador station. The same work is done in all other stations and at the big one at Saint Anthony, where one might say it is being done fourfold, and the whole thing is the result of the work of one man. Sir Wilfred Grenfell, himself, is literally responsible for the whole organization starting from those two small hospitals. He has gradually built it up and during these last 45 years he has given himself unsparingly for these people all the time; the first twenty years mostly out on the coast and in the second twenty years doing that which he, himself, most disliked, going around on deputation work. His organization work is now finished. At the same time, at the end of 45 years of toil his health has given out and he has been forced, most unwillingly, to retire from the field. We, who are carrying on are not faced with the problems of building up anything more but we are faced with the exceedingly difficult problem of carrying on that which he has started, but as long as those people up there do need our services we hope we will be able to carry on this work, to take it a stage nearer the ultimate fulfillment in the days to come when Labrador will be a prosperous, independent and developed country, able to stand on its own legs. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Dr. Forsyth, we are indeed glad to have met the man and it is the sincere wish of the members of The Empire Club, I know, that you may long be spared to give your talents to that great work commenced by Sir Wilfred Grenfell and continued under your able leadership.

I express our grateful thanks to you, Dr. Forsyth, for your interesting address today.

Now, Mr. Pratt, to you and to your Executive and the members of The Empire Club of Canada, my very best wishes. May we all do our part for Canada and a united Empire.

Mr. Fetherstonhaugh would like to say a few words.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: I would like to say a word or two. Having known the Empire Club and having been interested in it since its inception, I may say I want to pay a tribute to Mr. Brace who succeeded in having Mr. Powell work with this Club in a manner that no other man I can remember in the past has worked with the energy and the really splendid hard work he did to bring the Club into its present position. I think we all owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Powell, and I want to couple with it the Past President, Mr. Brace, and I would like you to rise and give an expression of your appreciation. We can not be too grateful to such men as these who make such things possible and the success of this Club so great.

PRESIDENT: I know both Mr. Powell and Mr. Brace would like to address you now. I am not going to let them. The meeting is adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, April 28th, 1938

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I have explained to our guest-speaker that this is the day of our Annual Meeting and I have also informed him that we shall not interfere with his time, which is all too brief.

Shortly we hope to have in your hands the Year Book, which is the report of the proceedings of your Club for the year ending April 30th and contains the audited report of your Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, which I need not enlarge upon save that the Club will finish this year, I am glad to say, in an even better financial position than at the end of last year.

The next order of business is the election of Officers for the ensuing year and I have before me the Report of the Nominating Committee.

It is moved by Colonel Kirkpatrick,
Seconded by Mr. Fennell.

THAT the following Officers be elected for the year 1938-1939:

President: J. P. PRATT, K.C.

1st Vice-President: WILLS MACLACHLAN

2nd Vice-President: REV. CANON H. F. D. WOODCOCK

3rd Vice-President: F. A. GABY

Hon. Treasurer: H. C. BOURLIER

Secretary:(to be appointed by the incoming executive)

Executive Committee: MESSRS. R. C. BERKINSHAW

L. CRAWFORD-BROWN

G. O. FLEMING

D. H. GIBSON

L. JUNKIN

H. F. POWELL

H. L. SOUTHALL

D. STEWART
F. L. CLOUSE
G. R. M. DINGLE
R. FLEMING
H. HARPHAM
F. B. MATTHEWS
F. PULLEN
J. D. SPENCE, K.C.
E. F. THOMPSON
H. WEBSTER

Immediate Past President :

R. M. HARCOURT

Representing Past Presidents :

DR. E. CLOUSE
F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C.
LT.-COL. R. J. STUART

Hon. Auditor : H. T. JAMIESON

Gentlemen, are there any other nominations? If not, I declare the nominations closed and those whose names you have heard elected by acclamation to the respective offices of The Empire Club of Canada.

I now take much pleasure in calling upon the President-elect, Mr. J. P. Pratt, to take his seat at my left. (Applause.)

Your executive has added six new names to the Committee this year, namely:

Messrs. R. C. Berkinshaw, G. R. M. Dingle, G. O. Fleming, R. Fleming, D. H. Gibson and F. Pullen. I sincerely hope that their new duties will give them as much pleasure as I have had in serving on your executive.

This year the Club has suffered severely in membership through the death of 22 of our members and we express our sincere sympathy to those near and dear to them. One Life Member is among their number, namely, Sir Robert L. Borden, Canada's war-time Premier, a truly great Canadian and Imperialist who spared not himself in his great task.

We are prone to accept the services of some officers as being part of this and other organizations to which we belong. They are, so to speak, fixtures. Such has been Mr. H. F. Powell, our Honorary Secretary, whose annual resignations have been carefully filed and forgotten. To-day, however, your executive has had to accept his resignation with great regret but with much appreciation of the work done. Presidents may come and Presidents may go, but we thought the Honorary Secretary went on forever. Only those who have served on the executive know what the words, "H. F. Powell, Adelaide 1934" have meant to the Empire Club of Canada. He has, however, consented to remain on the Executive and his advice will be as helpful as ever.

Your President-elect, Mr. J. P. Pratt, K.C., needs no introduction to the members of this Club. He has served with unflinching zeal on the executive for five years and was 1st Vice-President in 1933-34. His counsel has often been sought and gladly given. I have no fears for the coming year with Mr. Pratt as President of this Club. His acceptance of this position after these years of service on the Executive bespeaks his great interest in the ideals of the Empire Club of Canada. Before calling on Mr. Pratt, may I, all too briefly owing to the time, express again my sincere thanks for the honour you bestowed upon me, for your many kindnesses during my year of office, and the great help I have received from the Past Presidents, who grace the head table today, and to the members of the Executive to whom the success of this year is wholly due.

I now present to you the President-elect, Mr. J. P. Pratt, K.C. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT-ELECT J. P. PRATT, K.C.: Mr. President, Members of the Empire Club: I have been told that one of the greatest honours that could be bestowed on a Club man in this City is to be nominated and elected as President of The Empire Club. I feel that that is so and in accepting this honour I am not unmindful of the great responsi-

bility which goes with it. Those of us who have served on the Executive from year to year realize that the President is the figure-head of the Club and my observation of the Past Presidents who, by the way were referred to this morning by one Past President as "extinct volcanoes," with which I do not agree, my observation of the Presidents I have had the pleasure and honour of serving has been that they have had great responsibility.

Now, I am going to ask the indulgence of the members during my term of office. I shall try to follow in the footsteps of these gentlemen who are on the right and on the left. If I succeed it will be very, very largely due to the very splendid Executive with which you have surrounded me for the approaching year. If I fail, the failure will be mine. Gentlemen, I bespeak your indulgence and your support for the year 1938-1939. (Applause.)

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONT.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1938

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1937	\$1,874.01
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RECEIPTS

Membership Fees	\$4,188.00
Bank Interest	42.75
Sale of Year Books	9.00
Sale of Luncheon Tickets	340.00
Sale of Bruce Banquet Tickets ..	412.00
	\$4,991.75

PAYMENTS

General Expenses:

Postage, Printing, Stationery..	\$2,137.01
Telephone and Telegraph	241.75
Fees and Expenses of Speakers ..	352.30
Recording and Publicity	469.13
Luncheon Expenses	611.60
Miscellaneous Expenses	22.39
Bruce Banquet Remittance ...	412.00
	\$4,246.18
	\$ 745.57

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1938	\$2,619.58
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We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1938; that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above statement of Receipts and Payments is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the transactions of the Club according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1938.

Toronto, Ontario.
18th May, 1938.

H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants.
Honorary Auditors.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

- 1903-1912 Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal,
G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1913-1926 Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and
Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
1927-1931 Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1931-1935 Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.G., G.C.M.G.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

- 1902-05 Brig.-Gen. James Mason.*
1905-06 Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1906-07 J. P. Murray, Esq.*
1907-08 J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
1908-09 D. J. Goggin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.*
1909-10 Elias Clouse, Esq., M.D.
1910-11 J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.S.S.*
1911-12 F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
1912-13 Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
1913-14 Mr. Justice James Craig.*
1914-15 Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart.
1915-16 Albert Ham, Esq., Musc. Doc.
1916-17 James Black Perry, Esq.*
1917-18 Norman Sommerville, Esq., M.A., K.C.
1918 F. J. Coombs, Esq.
1919 R. A. Stapells, Esq.
1920 Arthur Hewitt, Esq.*
1921 Brig.-Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
1922 Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923 Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
1924 William Brooks, Esq.
1925 Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
1926 Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon. A.D.C.
1927 Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.*
1928 Robert H. Fennell, Esq.
1929 Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
1930 John D. Spence, Esq., K.C.
1931 H. G. Stapells, Esq.
1932-33 Lt.-Col. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
1933-34 Major W. Jas. Baxter, M.C.
1934-35 Dana H. Porter, Esq.
1935-36 J. H. Brace, Esq.
1936-37 Major G. B. Balfour.

* Deceased.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

YEAR 1938-39

Officers:

President: J. P. PRATT, K.C.

First Vice-President: W. MACLACHLAN

Second Vice-President: REV. CANON H. F. D. WOODCOCK

Third Vice-President: F. A. GABY

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer: H. C. BOURLIER

Honorary Auditor: H. T. JAMIESON

Executive Committee

R. C. BERKINSHAW

F. L. CLOUSE

L. CRAWFORD-BROWN

G. R. M. DINGLE

G. O. FLEMING

R. FLEMING

D. H. GIBSON

H. HARPHAM

L. JUNKIN

F. B. MATTHEWS

H. F. POWELL

F. PULLEN

H. L. SOUTHALL

J. D. SPENCE

D. STEWART

E. F. THOMPSON

H. WEBSTER

Immediate Past President

R. M. HARCOURT

Past Presidents

DR. ELIAS CLOUSE

F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C.

LT.-COL. R. J. STUART

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called the Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1 for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

- (a) Active Resident Members,
- (b) Non-Resident Members,
- (c) Life Members,
- (d) Honorary Members,
- (e) Associate Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a,) (b,) (c,) and (d,) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article active resident and associate members shall pay an annual fee of \$4.00 and non-resident members \$3.00, payable on the first day of October in each year in respect of the Club

year from May 1 to April 30 then current. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of April in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of \$50.00 in one sum.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; the Executive Committee shall consist of these officers and 17 other members who with the officers shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the imme-

diate Past President and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office till April 30, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at a regular or special meeting to be held not less than four, and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual meeting.

Standing Committee

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

- (a) Finance Committee.
- (b) Speakers' Committee.
- (c) Membership Committee.
- (d) Constitution Committee.
- (e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
- (f) Publicity Committee.
- (g) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at a regular meeting of the Club held during the month of May.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any

meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

LIFE MEMBERS

Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert A.	MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
Clouse, Dr. Elias	McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Coombs, F. J.	Murdock, James Y., K.C.
Fasken, Alex., K.C.	Pellatt, Sir H. W.
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B., K.C.	Scythes, J. A.
Gibbons, John J.	Stapells, H. G.
Ham, Dr. Albert	Stapells, R. A.
Kernahan, W. T.	Stewart, J. F. M.
MacDougall, A. Roy	Stuart, Lt. Col. R. J.
MacKay, John	Sweeney, Rt. Rev. James F.
	Tindall, H. B.
	Wood, E. R.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.	Atkinson, Fred
Adams, A. A.	Atkinson, F. L.
Adams, G. W., K.C.	Aykroyd, M. J.
Adams, H. B.	Babbitt, G. W.
Agar, Norman E.	Bain, H. R.
Aird, Sir John	Bainard, R. H.
Aird, W. H.	Baker, Capt. E. A.
Aitchison, J. F.	Baker, E. G.
Allan, N. B.	Baker, Geo. A.
Allen, Geo. H.	Baldwin, H. A.
Alley, B. P.	Baldwin, L. H.
Alley, Lt. Col. Herbert R.	Balfour, Major G. B., K.C.
Ambrose, J. R. W.	Ballard, B. W.
Anderson, Dr. H. B.	Band, Chas. S.
Anderson, Joseph	Barber, Geo.
Andison, T. H.	Barber, William
Angas, H. S.	Bark, W. A.
Annis, H. C.	Bastedo, Norman H.
Appleton, C. N.	Batten, Reg. A.
Archdekin, W. O.	Batten, W. Howard
Archibald, Dr. T. D.	Baxter, Major W. James
Armour, Rev. J. B. M.	Baynes-Reed,
Armstrong, Harry E.	Rev. Canon W. L.
Armstrong J. S. P.	Beairsto, A. H. C.
Arnott, John P.	Bealey, Ernest R.
Ashlin, C. H. N.	Beaton, A. H., K. C.
Ashworth, E. M.	

- Beatty, C. G.
Beatty, E. P.
Beatty, Dr. Hy. A.
Becker, Dr. C. W.
Begg, Herbert
Bell, T. H.
Bell, Dr. W. J.
Bennett, E. J.
Benson, D. F.
Bernard, M.
Berkeley, H. C.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Best, T. Harrison
Bickle, E. W.
Biggar, Dr. J. L.
Birkenshaw, J. H.
Bishop, G.
Bishop, H. H.
Blackburn, D. D.
Blackburn, F. J.
Blackstock, Col. G. G.
Blaikie, Ross W.
Bland, Rev. S. G.
Boase, J. B.
Bogert, C. A.
Bolger, H. N.
Bond, F. C. L.
Bongard, Gordon R.
Bongard, R. R.
Bonnell, W. H. M.
Bourlier, H. C.
Box, Dr. Willard M.
Boyce, J. F.
Boyd, Mossom de G.
Brace, J. H.
Bradshaw, Thomas
Brathwaite, F. Y. W.
Breckenridge, James C.
Breithaupt, W. W.
Bremner, Donald G.
Brittain, Horace L.
Brockwell, Meredith R.
Brook, Arthur T.
Brooks, W.
Broughall, Rev. Canon J. S.
Brown, F. I.
Brown, Henry
Brown, Stuart
Brown Stuart H., K.C.
Brown, W. E.
Browne, James
Bryce, Robt. A.
Bryson, R. N.
Buchanan, John J.
Burgess, C. H.
Burgess, F. A.
Burns, H. D.
Burns, Rev. Dr. R. N.
Burt, A. W.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.
Cairns, W. J.
Calvert, A. Morrison
Cameron, Harry
Cameron, Capt. J. Duncan
Cameron, John D.
Cameron, M. C.
Cameron, W. A.
Campbell, Dr. Colin A.
Campbell, Geo. F.
Carleton, Ed. M.
Carlisle, C. H.
Carr, Walter D.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carrie, Nichol
Carruthers, Geo.
Carruthers, Geo. L.
Carthy, Dr. W. C.
Cartwright, Brig. Gen G. S.
Cashman, P. W.
Cassidy, H. F.
Caulder, J. A.
Caven, Dr. W. R.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Chandler, Harry S.
Chapeau, Arthur C.
Chapman, E. A.
Charles, Leo. E.
Chave, B. W.
Cherry, P. G.
Chipman, J. H.
Chisholm, Lt. Col. Geo. T.
Clark, C. T.
Clark, Dr. Harold
Clark, Herbert A., K.C.

- Clark, Dr. Wm. J.
Clarkson, G. T.
Clarkson, R.
Cliff, Geo. J.
Close, T. B.
Clouse, F. L.
Coatsworth, Alan
Cockeram, Robert
Cody, Canon H. J.
Coke, Major E. F.
Colberg, A. M.
Colby, S. A.
Colebrook, H. G.
Colwell, C. A. Edward
Common, W. B.
Complin, Gordon
Cooke, R. L.
Coon, H. J.
Corlett, W. E.
Corrigan, Fred S.
Corson, R. R.
Cork, J. Milton
Cosgrave, Provost F. H.
Coste, E. F.
Cottrelle, Geo. R.
Coulter, J. E.
Coulter, W. C.
Coulter, W. Howard
Cowan, N. E.
Cowan, Major R. Cecil
Craick, W. A.
Craig, T. A.
Crang, J. H.
Crawford, F. J.
Crawford-Brown, Lyman
Crighton, A. S.
Crockett, E.
Cross, Edward
Crossland, E. F.
Crowell, Samuel G.
Cudworth, W. O.
Cutten, L. F.
- Dack, Stanford E.
Dallas, Rev. A. M.
Dalley, H. O.
Daly, R. A.
Daly, Roland O., K.C.
- Dargavel, R. B.
Davidson, Ernest I.
Davidson, Jocelyn
Davies, J. E.
Davies, M. L.
Davis, Bertram N.
Davis, Bruce P.
Davis, Geo. D.
Davis, R. Reade
Davis, W. H.
Day, Rev. Dr. Frank J.
Deacon, Col. F. H.
Dean, Rev. S. W.
Dean, W. G.
DeGuerre, H. W.
Denne, A. J.
Denton, Frank
DesBrisay, M.
Detweiler, Dr. H. K.
DeVries, Henry M.
DeWitt, H. N.
DeWitt, N. W.
Dickey, A. J.
Dilworth, F. J.
Dilworth, R. J.
Dilworth, W. A.
Dingle, Gordon R. M.
Dingman, H. J.
Dixon, Rev. John H.
Doherty, Hon. Manning W.
Donnelly, R. S.
Douglas, Howard R.
Douglas, J. S.
Drayton, Sir Henry, K.C.
Drew, Lt. Col. Geo. A.
Drew, John
Duern, Herbert
Duffett, Norman G.
Duggan, R. B.
Duke, S. A.
Duncan, E. J. B.
Duncan, S. F.
Duncanson, A. E.
Dunkelman, D.
Dunlap, D. M.
Dunlop, R. H.
Dunn, William

Dunstan, Kenneth J.
Dyke, Jas. E.

Eastmure, A. W.
Eaton, R. Y.
Eayrs, Hugh S.
Eby, H. D.
Edmonds, C. E.
Edmonds, Geo.
Edwards, A. Geoffrey
Edwards, H. Percy
Elgie, G. C., K.C.
Elliot, B. V.
Elliott, L.
Ellis, C. Q.
Ellis, Matthew T.
Ellsworth, A. L.
Elton, J. O.
Ely, E. F.
Endean, Harry

Fairweather, R. H.
Falconer, H. W.
Falconer, Sir Robt.
Fallis, Col. the Rev. Geo. O.
Fennell, Robt. H., K.C.
Ferguson, B. H.
Ferguson, H. M.
Ferguson, John
Ferguson, M.
Fessenden, C. L.
Findley, A. G.
Firstbrook, Hugh M.
Fisher, A. B.
Fisher, D. B.
Fishman, P.
Fitch, P. F.
Fitzgerald, D. G.
Flavelle, Sir Joseph
Fleming, Donald M.
Fleming, G. O.
Fleming, Robt.
Fletcher, S. S.
Flynn, J.
Forrester, David W.
Forrester, Wm. J.
Forster, J. W. L.
Fortner, C. H.

Foster, R. Leighton, K.C.
Fox, E. D.
Frame, S. J.
Franceschini, James
Francis, G. C.
Frankel, Roy H.
Fraser, John A.
Fraser, W. Gordon
Freyseng, Edward J.
Frost, Harold R., K.C.
Fry, H.
Fulford, R. T.
Fullerton, Hon. C. P., K.C.

Gaby, Fred A.
Gairdner, J. A.
Gale, Geo. C.
Gale, R. H.
Gardiner, F. C.
Gardiner, Percy R.
Garton, Geo. M.
Geary, B. Handley
Gianelli, Chevalier V.
Gibson, D. H.
Gibson, Wm. Robt.
Gilchrist, Prof. Lachlan
Giles, T. S. H.
Gillespie, James
Gilmour, A. H.
Gilmour, Thos. W.
Glennie, Geo. H.
Goff, John B.
Goldberg, A. M. P.
Gooderham, A. E., Jr.
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